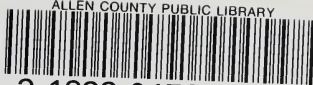


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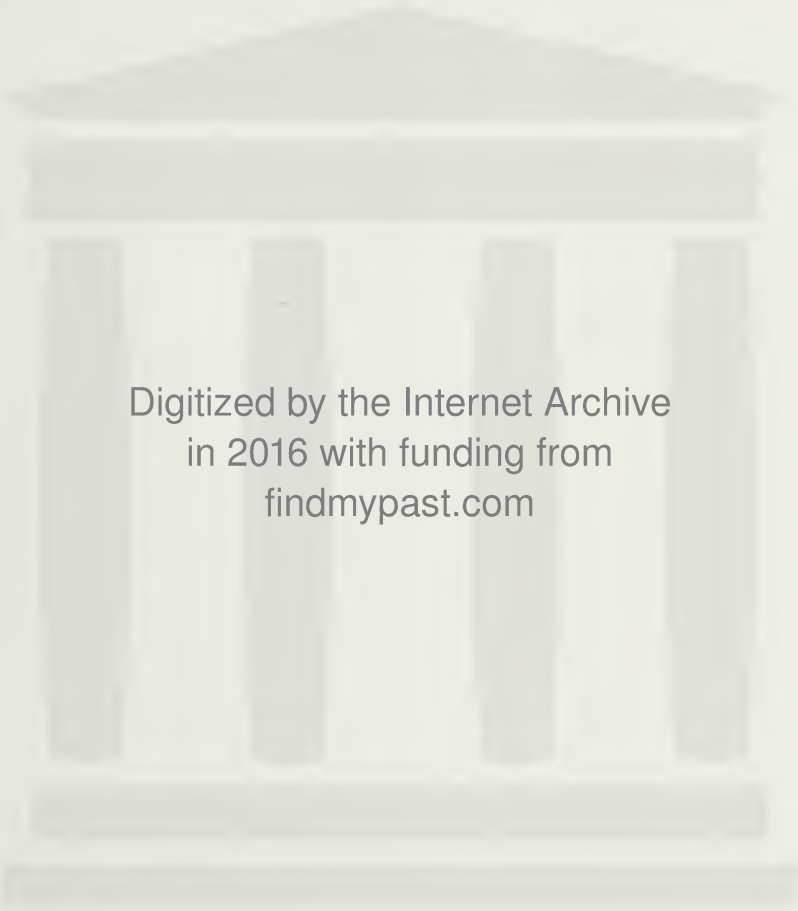
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OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH
EDITOR

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A COMMUNISTIC SWEDENBORGIAN COLONY IN IOWA

Emanuel Swedenborg¹ was the son of a famous Lutheran Bishop, Jesper Swedberg, Bishop of Skara, one of the most influential men in Sweden. Bishop Swedberg was among the first to send missionaries to America to promote the cause of the Lutherans. His second son, Emanuel, was born at Stockholm in 1688 and was brought up in the strictest Lutheran way, memorizing the catechism and the ritual. His chief interests at first seem to have been scientific, for he wrote treatises on mathematics, physics, astronomy, and chemistry. Later he became interested in anatomy. For a number of years, he served as assessor of mines. Not till 1747 did he resign his Professorship at the University of Upsala together with his government position, to make evident the fact that he had definitely broken with Lutheranism. Then he wrote his famous polemic against the church of his father, striking at its very heart — the doctrine of Justification by Faith — in these stinging words: "Yet they [the Lutherans] have fabricated a universal doctrine of their church upon one saying of Paul falsely understood."² Again in *The True Christian Religion* he satirized Luther.³

Whether Swedenborg, who died in 1772, desired to form a new and separate ecclesiastical denomination is an open question. Most of the books written about him in the last seventy-five years (and their number is large) repeat the

¹ In 1719 Emanuel Swedenborg was made a noble and the family name was changed from Swedberg to Swedenborg.

² *The Apocalypse Revealed*, p. 892.

³ Swedenborg's *The True Christian Religion*, p. 796.

statement probably first formulated by Henry James, Sr., that this was not his intention. It seems probable, however, that it was his desire to start a "New Church", for this is what his denomination came later to be called. This seems to be the only interpretation that can be put on his voluminous writings. Moreover, in the year 1745 when he was 57 years old he became convinced that religion as then organized had ceased to have any real influence as a social and religious power able to meet the needs of men.

At any rate, soon after Swedenborg's death there began to grow up little groups for the study of his writings. These groups flourished first in England, where Swedenborg had lived a part of his life, but they also developed on the continent, especially in France, Germany, Holland, and Sweden. One of the earliest French interpreters was Guillaume Gaspard Lancroy Oegger who wrote *Le Vrai Messie ou l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament examinés conformément aux principes du langage de la Nature* which later influenced Emerson and the Transcendentalists of New England.⁴

The first Swedenborgian recorded in the United States seems to have been James Glen, who in Philadelphia on June 5, 1784, gave a lecture on Swedenborg. From Philadelphia Glen moved on to Boston. About 1789, Dr. Joseph Russell came from England to Nova Scotia where he founded a Society of the New Church at Halifax. Two years later he came to New York. Soon groups of Swedenborgians in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston began to show great missionary zeal, spreading the doctrine of the New Church throughout the East. In 1787 Francis Bailey published in Philadelphia *A Summary View of the Heavenly Doctrines*, the first of Swedenborg's works to be pub-

⁴ It is significant that Emerson chose Swedenborg as the example of the religious man in his *Representative Men*, published in 1850.

lished in America. The New Church doctrines were further spread by *The Freeman's Journal or the North American Intelligencer* owned and edited by Francis Bailey. The poet, Philip Freneau, appears to have helped in the editorial work. In the issue of October 4, 1786, Freneau published his poem *On the Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg's Universal Theology*. But Bailey was not content to advance the cause by his *Journal* alone. In 1789 he sought support for an American edition of the first volume of *The True Christian Religion*, and readily found subscribers. Benjamin Franklin was one of the most enthusiastic and Thomas Jefferson was another. The first volume proved so successful that in 1792 the second volume was published and was eagerly bought.

By this time the teachings of the New Church had penetrated the Ohio Valley. The new missionary for this region was none other than John Chapman, better known as "Johnny Appleseed", because of his interest in the dissemination of apple trees among the pioneer farmers. Judge John Young, a receiver of Swedenborg's doctrines, supplied Chapman with literature and in the capacity of a Swedenborgian missionary "Johnny Appleseed" walked over the region lying west of the Alleghenies, north of the Ohio, and east of the Mississippi. Like the first New Testament disciples, Chapman went without money or change of apparel. As he went, he planted apple orchards, and spread the Word as revealed to Swedenborg. To the pioneer families whose fire and board he shared he read Swedenborg, interpreted the new teachings, and left leaflets for them to study until his return. His converts were to be found in many communities, but they were seldom organized or counted.

In 1792 the Baltimore Society began the construction of a church, the first New Church building in America. On

January 5, 1800, the building was formally dedicated. Jefferson sent a letter of congratulation, and afterwards corresponded with at least one officer of the church. By this time the New Church had representative groups throughout New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Ohio had definite church groups by 1809. In 1835 Jonathan Young Scammon founded a church in Chicago, and about the same time organized groups were formed in Indiana. In 1839 an Illinois Association was formed.

There were many reasons for the growth of Swedenborgian churches. One of the most obvious, however, was the fact that Swedenborg, one of the greatest scientists and mathematicians of his time, early felt the necessity of such an interpretation of religion that a man could be religious and at the same time accept whole-heartedly the findings of science. To make this clear, he wrote upwards of one hundred volumes in Latin, the learned language of his day.

In the second place, Swedenborg realized the implications of higher and lower criticisms of the Bible before the majority of theological scholars did so. To meet this problem, one of the most baffling of all the problems of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he worked out his elaborate exegesis of the spiritual meaning of the Bible. These writings, filled with learning, appealed to seekers after truth at the very points where men were most puzzled. Men and women of learning read them either in the great number of editions sent from England or in the now rapidly appearing American editions. A majority of those who were convinced that Swedenborg's views were correct did not leave their respective denominations; many of them, however, did. By 1850 practically every State east of the Mississippi had at least one New Church Society and all of them had many "reading groups".

A third reason for the great appeal of Swedenborg's teachings lay in the fact that he and his followers took a liberal, forward-looking attitude toward the economic issues of the time. Many groups of his followers were composed of Germans who had come to America because of dissatisfaction with religious and social conditions. This was especially true of the Swedenborgian colony in Iowa. Along with the writings of Swedenborg most of the groups read Marx, Owen, Fourier, and other social reformers. Many of his followers advocated the communism of the early Christians.

Surprising as it may seem, the introduction of the New Church into Iowa came not from the east but from the south, from New Orleans. There seem to have been two reasons for this. Oegger's famous work, *Le Vrai Messie*, was published in Paris in 1829. This had a wide reading and influenced French thought profoundly.⁵ Some French colonists had carried the new teaching with them as the English in great numbers had already done. Then, too, preceding and following the Revolution of 1848 large numbers of Germans came to America seeking political, intellectual, and religious freedom. Many of these Germans landed at New Orleans and later came to St. Louis.

One section of these German pioneers had fled from Germany, enraged at the attempt of Schleiermacher⁶ to make a united Evangelical Church in Germany. To the more conservative Lutherans this united church seemed nothing short of a repudiation of Christianity itself. Many of this group came to St. Louis in 1839. These German pilgrims, who later formed a new Synod which developed into the

⁵ Regis Michaud first pointed this out in his *Autour d' Emerson*, Paris, 1924. At the time Oegger wrote his *Le Vrai Messie*, he was Vicar of Notre Dame.

⁶ Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher, a German theologian, who lived from 1768 to 1834.

Missouri Lutheran Synod with branches all over the United States, saw the issue clearly. A covenant they adopted leaves no doubt as to their attitude toward the teaching of Luther as the correct interpretation of the Bible. They asserted: "All the undersigned acknowledge with sincerity of heart the pure Lutheran faith as contained in the Word of God, the Old and New Testaments, and set forth and confessed in the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church". This made it clear that, in their opinion, there was no room in the Lutheran Church for Swedenborg's doctrines.

Some German colonists had, however, become interested in the New Church, founded on the writings of Swedenborg, largely through the translation of Swedenborg's works by Immanuel Tafel. After 1831 "reading groups" sprang up all over Germany for the study of these translations. It seems that Schleiermacher feared this new rival. On one occasion, it is said that he visited the learned Tafel to try to dissuade him from completing his task of turning Swedenborg's Latin into German. But this made Tafel all the more determined to finish his work. Many Germans read and embraced the new teachings.

The group of those interested in Swedenborg who later came to Iowa left Germany in 1844. Not all of these had definitely embraced the New Church teachings when they left the Fatherland. Some of them had, however, openly broken with the Lutheran Church and others had declared themselves free thinkers but kept a nominal membership in the church. The break was too abrupt to be made by a timid soul. It involved more than a rejection of the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith. Then, too, Swedenborg himself had never left the Lutheran Church; he merely challenged its doctrines, hoping that his teaching would permeate not only his own church but all denominations.

As Lutherans, these pioneers had believed the *Sola fides*, that faith alone justifies; but Swedenborg taught that "faith without works is dead . . . all religion has relation to life and the life of religion is to do good". The new teaching held that repentance and faith are but the beginning of regeneration, which is not instantaneous, but is the result of the choices of life.

As Lutherans they had believed in a judgment day at the end of the ages when the sun would lose its light, the earth be destroyed, the graves open, and all men be sent to Heaven or to Hell. But the New Church taught them that the judgment comes at the termination of life when the soul leaves the body for the spirit world where it finds a new life for which its choices have prepared it. Man's subconscious mind is even in this life influenced by the spiritual world. There is no physical hell, but only the spiritual remorse over wrong choices.

As Lutherans they had believed in the Trinity of three in one. But the New Church taught them that God is a unity in the same way that a man's body, mind, and activity make him a unity.

As Lutherans they had taken the Bible literally. As Swedenborgians they were taught that a spiritual sense underlies the literal meaning. The spiritual or inner sense is revealed, they were told, through "the doctrine of correspondences", the symbolism within the literal sense. Plato had taught the doctrine of the existence of the ideal or spiritual concept before this, as had Philo, many of the Church Fathers, and the Neo-Platonists. Later, Emerson was to revive it. To the members of the New Church there could thus be no conflict between religion and science. Swedenborg, himself a distinguished scientist before he became a theologian, was an evolutionist long before Darwin made the theory popular.

As Lutherans these German colonists had believed it possible for unbaptized infants to fall under the wrath of God. As members of the New Church they were taught that all who die in infancy are saved through the love of God. Baptism, communion, and the other rites of the church are never ends but always symbols. Later when Emerson came under the influence of Swedenborg he adopted this view as did hundreds of others.

Such were the beliefs of some German colonists who in 1844 began to reach America through the Gulf of Mexico and New Orleans. Of those who later came to Iowa, only one family, the Schleuters, came to St. Louis via the Ohio River from their ancestral home in Bielefeld, Westphalia. The others — the Schloemanns, the Uthoffs, the Vettes, the Junkers, the Groths, the Hartmanns, the Bokhorsts, the Naumanns, and their spiritual leader, Hermann H. Diekhöner — all came to St. Louis via the Gulf of Mexico and New Orleans. Interesting stories of these Iowa pioneers have survived, some of them too important to be lost.⁷

This Hermann H. Diekhöner was a man of character, courage, and conviction. Without him Iowa might never have had the New Church colony. His story goes back to Germany in the days of Schleiermacher, Tafel, and Göthe.

As a boy it seems that Diekhöner showed great talent. He preferred above all else to hear a theological discussion or a debate about a new social order. His simple village parents, however, were too poor to send him to the University. His family could not then rise above the traditional occupation, shoemaking. The boy accordingly was apprenticed to a cobbler, to become in turn a cobbler himself. It was at that time that Tafel began bringing out his translations of the Latin works of Swedenborg. Hermann joined

⁷ The material for much of what follows in this article was secured from interviews with descendants of the original colonists and from a lengthy correspondence.

the first "reading circle" he could find. He starved himself to buy the books; he pored over them by night until he memorized great sections so that he could repeat them to those who came to his shop. He renounced Luther for the great Swedish teacher.

Diekhöner also busied himself with thoughts about "Society" and the "Economic Order". Karl Marx was his contemporary and the thinking that was a little later to go into the *Communist Manifesto* was in the air. The young apprentice agreed in the main with Marx, but his conviction about communism came not from the German Jew, but from the New Testament. He began to revolt against the social and religious intolerance of Germany. He had a vision of building a Utopia in the wilderness. Having completed his term as apprentice, he packed up his Swedenborgian books, together with his Bible and a few communistic tracts, and set out for America.

In due time he reached St. Louis, set up his cobbler's shop, and tried to convert to the new teachings all who came to him. He must have been as persuasive in his teachings as he was honest in his trade, for he was never without listeners. On Sundays he began to hold services in his shop, opening the house door to make more room. His place was crowded. More and more people came to hear him. Diekhöner soon knew and befriended each and every one of them. He became their shoemaker, their adviser, their pastor. More families came after the Revolution of 1848. All went well; but the cobbler had interested them in the theory of communism and they considered St. Louis merely a stopping place on their journey, not their home.

This interest in communism was not surprising. Socially and politically the majority of Swedenborgians have always been liberals. They have always felt that the teachings of the founder of the church should be applied to the

social system. This, for example, was the interpretation of Henry James, Sr. Just at the time the Iowa group began, the economic and social theories of Marx, Fourier, Robert Dale Owen, St. Simon, Henry James, Sr., George Ripley, and others were earnestly studied. *The Present* and *The Harbinger*, the latter a Brook Farm publication, carried the views of these thinkers to St. Louis. The relation of mid-western cities to Boston and the New England reformers was very close. The Boston New Church, for example, followed with keen interest the community at Yellow Springs, Ohio, founded by Daniel Roe, one of the first of Owen's American disciples. This community was made up of members of the New Church at Cincinnati. The experiment was much like that at Brook Farm except that it was entirely Swedenborgian.

And then, between the years 1848-1852, came the terrible cholera epidemic in St. Louis. When the German colonists had first reached St. Louis a great boom was in force and they could scarcely find a house for rent. After the epidemic, entire streets were deserted. Almost overnight the happy circle, intent on ideas of New Testament brotherhood, was changed into a group of terrified men and women. They showed great heroism, however, working valiantly and fearlessly to care for the sick and dying. Being intensely religious they took the Biblical injunctions about mercy and love for the sick as direct commands to them. Many members of the group fell victims of the dread scourge. The memories and records show that Casper H. Uthoff lost a sixteen-year-old daughter, the apple of his eye. The Schloemanns lost several sons, and lamented over them as did Rachel, the comfortless. The Schleuters lost several children, and so the sad tale went.

Fear of another epidemic was one of the reasons for hurrying the plans for a Utopian colony to the north, where

the Bible, as explained by Swedenborg, and Society, as outlined by the New Testament, might be experienced as realities. Each day was now precious. Meetings were held constantly in the cobbler's shop and a group resolved to organize as communists.

The group decided to establish to the north a colony that would express their dislike of the conditions they had left in Germany, and they determined to settle in the fertile prairie land of the newly formed State of Iowa. They had studied various communistic groups already established, such as the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, New York; the German Harmonists at Economy, Pennsylvania; the Quaker Zoarites; the Swedes under Eric Janson at Bishop Hill, Illinois; the German group under Keil at Bethel, Missouri; the Perfectionists at Putney, Vermont, who at this very time were being expelled to form the Oneida Community in New York; the Brook Farm experiment, already mentioned; and the Icarians under Cabet at Nauvoo, Illinois. But none of these fulfilled Diekhöner's dream. He wanted to exalt Emanuel Swedenborg, who had liberated his mind, and to emulate the first century Christians who, he believed, had solved the economic and social problems.

During this period of waiting, most of the colonists not already converted to the teachings of the New Church, renounced their spiritual allegiance to Lutheranism as well as their political allegiance to Germany. Diekhöner in his cobbler's shop had sown the good seed and now found the harvest ready. He prepared to accompany the colony north to Iowa. In the midst of preparations for starting their community, they were told that the Indians were causing the new settlers much trouble. This report, although without foundation so far as Iowa was concerned, caused no little consternation and explains the type of community house in which the colonists first lived.

The name chosen for this Iowa settlement throws light on the passion of these Swedenborgians for a new and better social order. In the German translation of the Bible which they used, in Revelation 21: 19 they read: "Und die Gründe der Mauern und der Stadt waren geschmückt mit allerlei Edelsteinen. Der erste Grund war ein Jaspis".⁸ This in English reads: "And the foundations of the walls and of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper". This phrase from the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, "the first foundation was jasper" they adopted as their hope for the first New Church colony in Iowa and they called their colony the *Jaspis Kolonie*. It is said the older members used to repeat, "Der schöne Name Jaspis". These colonists were devout believers in the coming of the Christian Utopia and in the realization of the petition they daily prayed, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth".

By the first of January, 1851, plans had been formed and all were ready to take the road to Iowa as soon as the weather permitted. Imitating the Old Testament, the group selected certain trusted men to "spy out the land". For this important mission they chose C. O. Vette, Karl Frederick Naumann, and Heinrich C. Kosfeld. As soon as the Mississippi River was navigable the "spies" set out. With little trouble they reached Keokuk and then started inland. They had no difficulty with the Indians and went as far west as what is now Iowa County. This region was then largely government land, open to settlement and so could be obtained easily and cheaply. The land in Iowa County seemed a veritable paradise to these weary travelers and they at once agreed to urge the colonists to establish the new home there. Immediately they returned to St. Louis

⁸ Swedenborg explains in detail the spiritual significance of this passage in his *Apocalypse Revealed*.

and reported their findings to the group in Diekhöner's shop. The members received the report with prayer and gratitude as a gift of divine Providence. At once they prepared to enter upon the goodly heritage.

Sometime in the spring of 1851, it seems, the families started out, coming by the Mississippi as far as Muscatine. Here they sought ways of transporting their goods northwest to the new location. After much discussion they hired ox carts and oxen to move their possessions as far as Iowa City, then the capital of the new State, although drivers of the ox carts feared the sticky loess over which they must travel, for in the early spring the Iowa roads were well nigh impassable. John Frederick Schleuter, who seems to have been the treasurer of the group and could speak English, supervised the transfer of the colony's possessions from the boat to the ox carts. Then another delay came as he endeavored to make the drivers assume responsibility for any breakage on the way. This the drivers, knowing the nature of the roads, flatly refused to do. This difficulty, however, seems to have been overcome in some way, for the colony finally started on its way, the men walking beside the carts to keep them right side up, while the women and children took turns riding. Thus they reached Iowa City without mishap. They remained here several days to make final purchases and repairs for the last lap of the journey to the new home.

Exactly when the Swedenborgian colonists reached Iowa City is not definitely known. A land patent was issued to William Wolbers, who later appears as one of the trustees of the colony, on April 11, 1851. This was for one hundred and twenty acres in Section 18 of Township 81 North, Range 9 West, in what was later Lenox Township,⁹ Iowa County. Another purchase of 40 acres in Section 7 of the

⁹ Lenox Township was organized in 1855.

same township was made by Wolbers on April 25, 1851, and on the same date Hermann H. Diekhöner took title to one hundred and sixty acres in Sections 17 and 20.¹⁰

It appears, therefore, that the colonists were in Iowa City about the middle of April. A story which has been handed down relates that Mr. Schleuter rode on ahead to locate the land. About twenty miles west of Iowa City, at a point where Homestead now stands, he sought to ford the Iowa River. But the heavy spring rains had so swollen the river that continuing with the horse was out of the question. He thought of the waiting colonists anxious to be in their new home; then he tied the horse to a tree, wrapped his clothes into a bundle which he strapped to his head, and swam across the river. He walked across the tract, later to become another communistic settlement, the Amana, to the point where Willow Creek flows into Price Creek, a tributary of the Iowa. From this point he staked out the sections of land chosen for the colony's home. Nearby was a spring.

The story handed down by the descendants of the pioneers goes on to say that when Mr. Schleuter swam back across the river, his horse had disappeared. The pioneers thought it was stolen by a roving Indian since it never returned to its owner in Iowa City. Nothing dismayed, Schleuter walked back the twenty miles to Iowa City and paid for the lost horse out of the colony's slender funds.

The following day the colonists set out for their new home. They made their way with difficulty through the rain soaked loess, but their spiritual guide, H. H. Diekhöner, made them feel good cheer. Several of the survivors have told of their surprise, on arriving, at seeing a log shed roofed with grass not far from the spring. They never

¹⁰ These purchases are recorded in the office of the county recorder of Iowa County.

learned who built it, but believed it had been the shelter of a trapper who had been killed by the Indians. More likely some trader or squatter had moved away.

It appears to be difficult to fix exactly the location of all the lands held by the Swedenborgians. The center of the Jasper Colony was located in Sections 5 and 8, although this land, according to the records, was not purchased until 1852. A deed for one hundred and sixty acres — the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 8 — in the name of Casper H. Uthoff, John F. Schleuter, and Charles F. Naumann, trustees of Jasper Colony, bears the date May 28, 1852. On December 7, 1852, these trustees purchased another one hundred and sixty acres — the S $\frac{1}{2}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ and the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 5 and the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 6. In addition to these purchases, Albert H. Schloemann is listed as having bought forty acres in Section 8 on May 2, 1852, and Charles (or Karl) Kunz bought three hundred and twenty acres on December 22, 1852.

Under the frontier rule that residents had a preëmption right to buy the land on which improvements were made, it is possible that the colony selected the northwest corner of Section 8 and the southwest corner of Section 5, and established the center of the colony there, although they had not as yet secured title to the land. This site was chosen because of a spring of excellent water and a grove of timber which could be used in building the community houses and for fuel. The colonists never regretted the choice of the site to which they considered they had been divinely guided.

At any rate, it is said that as soon as the oxcarts had been unloaded and the goods set up in tents, the men set to work to build a log community house near the junction of Willow and Price creeks. Almost immediately four other log houses were built. Each of the five houses at first sheltered two families. Each family had its own apartment

with an upper story, but a common kitchen and dining room seem at first to have served the entire colony. The community house, which symbolized both the principle of Christian communism and the colonists' fear of the Indians, also served at first as the church. Heat was provided from the fireplaces. All the furniture was handmade with the exception of the pieces brought from St. Louis.¹¹ Beds were made as berths fastened to the wall and so arranged that during the day they might be folded back to make more room. Wooden benches took the place of chairs. During the summer all meals were served out of doors on long wooden tables.

But the colony's first interest was not the material comforts of life. Diekhöner, their leader, saw to it that Christian communism, the divine brotherhood, and the interpretation of the Bible according to Swedenborg were kept before them as their main purpose. They brought with them Tafel's translation of Swedenborg's works, together with the original Latin. It is doubtful whether an English translation was used at this time as few of the members, with the exception of Schleuter, had learned English. Thus in one of the log community houses in the spring of 1851 the first New Church in Iowa was established under the leadership of the Reverend H. H. Diekhöner, for Diekhöner seems to have been ordained by the community before leaving St. Louis.¹²

In addition to the Reverend H. H. Diekhöner and the men who came to choose the site, the Jasper Colony included Frederick William Junker, Valentine Hartmann, Heinrich Groth, Albert Hermann Schloemann, Ernst H. Schloemann, and Karl Kunz, who came from Prague—the only

¹¹ At least one piece of the original furniture brought from St. Louis has survived to the present time.

¹² Each group had the right to ordain its own spiritual leader.

colonist of noble birth.¹³ Although these colonists planned to establish a communistic settlement, they were never incorporated, the land being held in the name of various individuals or trustees. A total of about one thousand acres was purchased by members of the Jasper Colony during 1851 and 1852, in Sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18, and 20.

This land was extremely fertile and crops flourished, but money was scarce. The colonists experienced no trouble from the Indians. They enjoyed all the blessings they had lacked in Germany. But the desire for private property was strong within them. They pondered Luther's translation of the Bible and saw that communism was neither compulsory nor did it work among the early Christians; they found nothing in Swedenborg's writings that could be interpreted as implying that true Christians must be communists. They debated the question, to the evident displeasure of Diekhöner who was a firm adherent of communism and believed it wrong for any person to receive money for preaching or for pastoral work. This restlessness continued until the spring of 1853 when at the general meeting of the colony it was voted to give up communism.

The reorganization required certain adjustments in the ownership of land. The plan had been carried out by agreement rather than under legal regulations and it appears that, upon the decision to give up communism, the colony made transfers in the interest of justice. Although this is not so stated in the records, the land bought in 1851 and 1852, whether deeded to trustees or to individuals, was apparently considered as community property. The first transfers from the colony to an individual appear to have been made on April 20, 1853, so the decision to abandon

¹³ It is difficult to find the correct spelling of the names of the various members of the Jasper Colony. The names as they appear on the different records vary, depending upon whether the English or the German spelling and sounds were used.

community property was evidently made previous to this date. The transfers made on this date were made by "Casper Uthoff and Others", as trustees of the colony. Another series of transfers, made on November 16, 1853, were signed by "Albert Schloemann and Others". William Wolbers also appears as one of the signers on some of these deeds. By the date of the series of transfers on November 16th, two of the leaders were evidently dead — Casper Uthoff and Karl Kunz — for their widows received deeds, Hannah Uthoff to a forty acres of the original purchase by H. H. Diekhöner, and Catherine "Kuntz" to eighty acres, half of which was part of the Diekhöner holding.

It appears that the reorganization took place without serious dispute as to property rights. Members seem not to have received equal shares. They had probably contributed unequally in the beginning. The records concerning these financial transactions have not been found. After the spring of 1853, many members of the community bought additional land from the government.

Thus an Iowa religious communistic colony had organized and given up communism before the Society of True Inspiration came into Iowa in 1855. It is interesting to note, however, that the German pietists who later developed the Amanas came to America like the Swedenborgians in the 1840's and largely for identical reasons. It is also interesting to note that the Inspirationists put greater weight on the significance of communism than the Swedenborgians did, remaining communists till 1932 when they too reorganized. The Amana Community, however, became a joint stock company and did not return to an unqualified private property system. It later purchased some of the land owned by the Jasper Colony, including at least part of the original purchase by H. H. Diekhöner.

About the time the colony renounced communism, Reverend H. H. Diekhöner returned to St. Louis. To him the rejection of communism was almost the renunciation of Christianity itself. On his return to St. Louis, it is said, he reopened his cobbler's shop to earn his daily bread. He also became pastor of another New Church group, serving it without salary until he died.

Accounts of the Iowa colony which came to St. Louis encouraged other German families to move north to Price's Creek, and within a few years the following additional families settled down: Bernhardt Vette and his wife; Hermann Biermann; John, George, and Henry Burmeister; Christopher Volz; Heinrich Mueller and family; and Joachim Schultz. Bernhardt Vette was a bookbinder. Hermann Biermann came as a farm hand, and after a few weeks he had saved enough money to return to St. Louis for his bride.

George Burmeister came with a plan for educating the children. It was he who opened the first New Church Sunday School in Iowa in 1857. He also taught the day school for several months. Henry Burmeister was the first of the family to unite with the New Church in Iowa County. In the meantime a new school was built. This was known as the Excelsior School and served as the public school, although it was also used for religious services on Sunday and occasionally in the evenings. The Excelsior School was completed by 1859 and supplanted the old log community house as a church, serving until 1880 when the new church building was dedicated. Henry Burmeister was the first teacher in the Excelsior School, serving from 1860-1861. Heinrich Mueller and his family came in 1870. Mueller spoke both German and English, and for several years he served as translator for *Der Bote*, a German New Church paper published at St. Louis.

Members of the Jasper Colony and those who settled in the community became naturalized citizens and took an active interest in political affairs. During the Civil War period they were chiefly Republicans in politics, but the approval of prohibition by the Republican party, it is said, later influenced many of them to join the Democratic party.

Contacts of the Swedenborgian Colony with the outside world were at first few and far between. Muscatine and Iowa City were the nearest towns and through them the few contacts were maintained. Linwood post office in the Wilkins farm home was established in 1856. In 1864 an office was opened at Florence, the present village of Norway, four miles from the Lenox New Church.

A word should be said about the spiritual leaders of the colony after the Reverend H. H. Diekhöner retired, disappointed at the rejection of communism. From 1853 till 1863 Albert Hermann Schloemann, a layman, served as minister of the community. This was permitted in the New Church since the Sacraments, according to Swedenborg, are symbols rather than means of salvation. It was during Mr. Schloemann's ministry that the Excelsior School was completed. Schloemann was always devoted to the spread of the New Church and while pastor organized societies in schoolhouses at Parker's Grove (near Shellsburg) and also at Ely.

In 1863 the work became too strenuous for a lay preacher, and the Reverend Gerhard Bussmann was called as pastor. He was a carpenter by trade and during his service at the Lenox Church he continued to carry on his trade until he left in 1883. After the coming of Reverend Bussmann, Mr. Schloemann continued his work in the outlying districts always finding new groups ready and eager to study the writings of Swedenborg. About 1880 he formed "a reading circle" which soon developed into a New Church Society in

a rural community near Newhall in Benton County. This society continued to flourish for many years bringing a religious and intellectual stimulus to an otherwise remote community.

Early in the seventies, a new society of Swedenborgians started near Burlington, known as the Flint River Congregation. The Reverend J. J. Lehnen came from Canada as pastor of this group about 1874 and, on the departure of Reverend Bussmann, he often preached at Lenox. He also acted as State missionary, visiting the various "reading groups" and societies. Among these was the group at Rogers School north of Norway. His preaching was almost entirely in German, and it is said that he spoke English with a decided German accent.

With the building of the new church in Lenox Township in 1880 the language problem came to the fore. The younger members had learned English and demanded an English service. To meet this difficulty, the church called the Reverend Stephen Wood as co-pastor to preach in English. From 1880 to 1894 the society had two pastors and two services. Wood was a remarkable man and his influence on the cultural life of Iowa is too important to be forgotten. He was descended from Thomas Wood, a Puritan who fled England for conscience sake in 1620. Born in New York in 1814, Stephen Wood began life as a farmer. But he early developed a desire to prepare for the ministry, carried a Bible with him while plowing, and soon memorized great sections of it. As soon as possible he left the farm and entered the University of Athens, Ohio. Here he applied himself equally well to Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, and mathematics. He entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church where he remained till 1850. At this time the interest in Swedenborg had spread over the country and Wood studied the new teaching carefully.

At last, convinced of the truth of the New Church doctrine, he came to Iowa, teaching school in Linn, Clinton, and Jackson counties, and preaching the doctrines of Swedenborg in schoolhouses or wherever an opportunity offered. He was also one of the first to introduce the teaching of Swedenborg into the Dakotas. In 1880 he settled in Lenox Township where he exerted a powerful influence. On August 10, 1889, The General Society of Iowa for the Church of the New Jerusalem was founded by Wood, Lehnen, Kimm, and a group of laymen. Through this society he purposed to unite the scattered Iowa societies. In this he was unusually successful and the New Church reached many hamlets in the State, securing a large number of readers.

Annual meetings were held at the Lenox Church, at which men and women from Iowa and neighboring States planned and worked together for the advancement of the New Church. These meetings meant much to the rural people of Iowa. Thirty-five communities in the State had societies at the time of the founding of the State society. But Stephen Wood was more than a tireless preacher and missionary. He found time to write several books which were widely read throughout the country. Best known of these books are: *The Formation of Plants and Animals by an Orderly Development*; *The New Philosophy Applied to the Solar System*; and *The New Philosophy in Connection with the Science of Correspondence*.

From 1896 to 1904 J. B. Parmelee served as pastor. He was followed after a short interval by William Martin. The latter's work was significant. Born in Fairfield, Ohio, in 1842 of a very religious family William Martin early heard of Swedenborg, although his parents were members of the Associate Reformed Church. At the age of twenty-six Martin came to Iowa, teaching rural schools in Appanoose

County, while preparing himself to enter the State University at Iowa City. It was about this time that Emerson began his lecture tours through the middle west. Although definite proof has not been found, it seems likely that Emerson interested Martin more deeply in Swedenborg. Finally, having read the article on Swedenborg in *Johnson's Cyclopaedia*, written by Theophilus Parsons, a friend of Emerson's, Martin decided to enter the ministry of the New Church.

Martin had spent his life in teaching school and newspaper work up to the time he was licensed as a New Church minister in 1901. In 1900 Mr. Martin began the publication of the only New Church paper ever to be published in Iowa, *The Echo*, published quarterly at Solon, twelve miles from Iowa City, by the Economy Publishing Company. The Reverend J. B. Parmelee acted as editor. Its purpose was to promote the interests of the New Church among both German and English speaking residents of the State. The paper from its beginning took a radical social position. It reprinted articles and sermons from *The Public*, a single tax organ published in St. Louis. It carried articles by Reverend Parmelee on "Christian Socialism", exhorted its subscribers to read Henry James, Sr., as an exponent of the social teaching of the New Church, and stressed the reading of other books giving the Swedenborgian point of view.

About 1901 the Lenox Church began to lose its power. It voted to discontinue regular Sunday services and have services but once each month. Two reasons were given for this. One was financial. Many of the older members had died; their children seemed to lack the fervor of their fathers or had moved away. Another reason seems to have been the interest that Reverend Parmelee showed in the Koreshite movement. This movement, founded by Cyrus

Teed, a medical practitioner of Utica, New York, adopted the theory of communism, held that the earth is a hollow globe on the inner surface of which the human race lives, and asserted that Teed was the Messiah. The Lenox Church people looked askance at all of these doctrines, although Reverend Parmelee continued as part time pastor till 1910. Since that time the church has had only occasional services. Many of its members, however, hold loyally to it, and each summer a reunion is largely attended by persons from all parts of Iowa.

The Swedenborgian Colony gave to Iowa a group of intelligent, thrifty, and honest citizens. It continued the Swedenborgian tradition, being part of a movement which in the first half of the nineteenth century spread over the United States, enlisting some of the best minds of America. The teachings of Swedenborg gave spiritual and intellectual nourishment to many a rural group, in the days before Iowa had developed its school system and created its spiritual life. In a difficult period it helped men and women to solve the perplexing problem of the relation of religion to the new scientific knowledge and to social problems.

CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

FOREIGN GRAIN TRADE OF THE
UNITED STATES
1835-1860

The foreign grain trade of the United States, between 1835 and 1860, symbolized the agricultural conquest of the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes. Rapidly migrating people, improved farm machinery, canals and railroads — all parts of the area's development — created the surplus of grain which was available for export. The South had specialized in cotton and tobacco. The East was undergoing industrialization. The Old Northwest became the new source of the grain supply.

The grain trade, however, never reached more than 35 per cent of the total export trade, and that peak occurred during the British famine of 1847. Moreover, the grain exported was never more than one-twentieth of the total amount of grain grown. Most of the grain was consumed at home by hungry railroad builders, the industrial East, or the incoming pioneers. The outlet for the grain was New Orleans until 1846, when a shift to the Erie Canal-New York route occurred.

The foreign grain trade, such as it was, increased rapidly as the conquest of the Old Northwest went forward. During the ten years from 1833 to 1843 grain exports showed an increase of 8 per cent over the previous decade. During the decade from 1843 to 1853 this increase was 170 per cent, while the increase for 1853 to 1860 was 158 per cent. By 1860 grain had surpassed tobacco in export value, vied with manufactures, and yielded only to cotton. Flour was the most profitable of all exported breadstuffs. The West

Indies, Brazil, and Anglo-Saxon countries were the principal buyers.

During the period from 1835 to 1860, grain was a vital factor in winning European recognition. While it is said that the American grain trade began in 1846 with the repeal of the English Corn Laws, our position as a permanent source of supply for Europe's constant demands for breadstuffs was not definitely established until 1856. Famines, crop shortages, and wars had, hitherto, made a fluctuating demand upon our grain industry. By 1856 the demand had, apparently, settled to a permanent basis, due to Europe's inability to grow the grain normally needed.

Incidental to this world position as a grain producer was the building of trade liaisons and economic dependencies. The Old Northwest depended upon the East for its manufactures, for which it paid with money from its West Indian or European grain trade. The East depended upon the West for its breadstuffs. In furtherance of the export trade, a demand grew up during this period for a direct connection between Europe and the Northwest by way of the St. Lawrence River, but this came to nothing.

The foreign grain trade had a peculiar significance in the development of the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes. It furnished both the incentive and the liquid capital for opening the region. Grain was the pioneer's capital. In order to take advantage of the foreign trade and high prices, the farmers demanded railroads. These in turn became an end instead of a means because they proved so profitable.

This built up what came to be a vicious circle of speculation in railroads, wheat land, and wheat. For the grain trade, until 1856, was but a spasmodic force of "peaks" and "lows". Railroad speculation, land grabbing under the Preëemption Act, and most of the grain industry

was based upon the gamble of possible high prices. So the grain trade became a form of speculation with a direct relation to the Panic of 1857.

The foreign grain trade was an important element in speculation primarily because it was the determining force in the process of fixing grain prices. By 1846 it had become evident that the export trade, although it never amounted to one-twentieth of the wheat raised, determined the standard of grain prices in the United States.

SOURCE OF THE EXPORTABLE GRAIN SURPLUS

The American foreign grain trade from 1835 to 1860 might well be termed the index of the agricultural conquest of the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes. To trace its rise and progress would be to present an almost complete record of the development of our entire continent. For it is impossible to disassociate from such a study the factors of devitalized soils of the Atlantic coast areas, grain diseases, suitable grain lands of the upper Mississippi River system, and transportation routes. In his study of the grain trade no one should overlook such items as the export centers, canals, railroads, tariffs, Corn Laws, famines, wars, and general human needs. But in our special study we are necessarily limited to the region north of the Ohio River.

There must be a source of an exportable surplus of grain before any foreign grain trade can arise. Until the close of the War of 1812, the grain exported from the United States was grown primarily in the Atlantic States.¹ Yields gradually decreased as the fertility of the soil diminished and plant diseases swept over the crops. By 1845 the average yield of wheat per acre in eastern New York was only eight

¹ Schmidt's *The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 396, 397.

bushels, and its cultivation had been almost abandoned. In the Mohawk-Hudson district the yield of wheat for the same year was nine and three-fifths bushels per acre. As a result, New York land could not produce wheat for less than fifty-six and one-quarter cents per bushel while Wisconsin could produce it for forty-four cents.² This gives us some clue as to why the scene of this agricultural conquest was laid in the Valley of the Mississippi.

Moreover the need to seek new sources of a grain supply was increased by immigration and the increasing population. The East was changing rapidly to manufacturing pursuits. The result was that the States which had hitherto been exporting wheat and other grain now became importers.³ A new source of supply was sought in the West.

Already in 1844, it was foretold that the States north of the Ohio River, "which are the most prolific, and can produce at least cost, will monopolize the market."⁴ This declaration is emphasized in innumerable articles which prove we are correct in assuming that the source of supply for the foreign grain trade was the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes.⁵ One article boasts that fifteen of the eighty-seven counties of Ohio "raised more corn in 1846 than the entire amount exported to Europe in 1846-7, with the famine of Ireland and half of Europe to make the demand!"⁶

² Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 292, Economic and Political Science Series, Vol. V, No. 3), pp. 126, 127.

³ Schmidt's *The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, p. 397.

⁴ *Monthly Commercial Chronicle* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. X, p. 75.

⁵ Lanman's *Agricultural Commerce of the United States* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. V, pp. 201-220; Semple's *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, p. 356.

⁶ *Resources of the Great West* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. III, p. 583.

The penetration of population into this area was the first step in rendering the fertile area productive of an exportable surplus. During the decade preceding 1840, settlement had extended across Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, even into Iowa. Between 1840 and 1850 the wheat producing States of Iowa and Wisconsin had been admitted to the Union and the Territory of Minnesota had been created. By 1860 Minnesota had become a State. The St. Paul settlements had spread like Jonah's gourd, in all directions. The Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, and Washington had been organized and California and Oregon were admitted as States.⁷ The United States had occupied the breadth of the continent.

But the ordinary pioneer raised very little wheat, for there was no market for it. He grew only enough for his immediate supply. Wheat bread was used only on Sundays.⁸ The cost of transporting grain was prohibitive of exportation. Previous to the construction of the Erie Canal, the cost of transporting a ton of merchandise from the city of New York to the city of Buffalo was \$100. The time required was 20 days.⁹ The need for better transportation facilities led to the building of the Erie Canal, completed in 1825, and this at once became an important outlet for western grain.¹⁰ An epidemic of canal building followed.

Before 1850 the internal commerce of the country was conducted almost entirely through water lines — natural and artificial — and over ordinary highways. By 1860,

⁷ *Tenth Census of the United States*, 1880, Population, pp. XVI-XVIII.

⁸ Good-Knight's *Wheat Raising in Pioneer Missouri* in *The Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 502-505.

⁹ Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1868-1869, pp. 12, 13.

¹⁰ Schmidt's *The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 399.

eight trunk line railroads served as outlets for the products of the interior.¹¹ Prior to the operation of canals and railroads, land transportation at one cent per hundred-weight per mile was prohibitive. The transportation of flour, worth five dollars per barrel in the market, for three hundred miles cost more than its value.¹² So transportation routes must be considered in our survey of the source of the grain trade. "As fast as our people have moved westward in their triumphal march across the continent, the railway which they have taken with them has given a high commercial value to whatever they produce, no matter how far distant from the points of consumption."¹³

But the two factors — population and transportation — did not produce grain by any magical touch. In 1835, Ohio was the only western State exporting grain eastward by way of the Erie Canal. Chicago made its first grain shipment of 78 bushels over the Great Lakes in 1838. By 1840, the wheat growing industry had definitely entered the Mississippi Valley. At that time the center of wheat production was approximately on the western boundary line of Pennsylvania. By 1850 it had moved westward to a point some fifty-seven miles northeast of Columbus, Ohio. Ten years later the center of wheat production had moved to a point eighteen miles north by east of Indianapolis, Indiana.¹⁴

By 1855 Chicago was boasting the largest primary grain

¹¹ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, pp. 404, 405.

¹² Kettell's *Eighty Years' Progress* (1869), p. 15, quoted in Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*.

¹³ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 390; Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1868-1869, pp. 12, 13.

¹⁴ Schmidt's *The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 399-402.

depot in the world.¹⁵ In 1860, Illinois moved to first rank in the production of corn and wheat, and Illinois flour began to find its way into European markets.¹⁶

The following table is taken from the *Census of 1860*:

BUSHEL OF WHEAT AND CORN PRODUCED PER CAPITA BY
GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS¹⁷

	<i>Wheat</i>			<i>Corn</i>		
	1840	1850	1860	1840	1850	1860
New England		0.465	0.345	3.02	3.70	2.90
Middle States		5.33	3.69	7.79	9.11	9.04
Southern States		2.42	3.50	33.13	32.76	30.83
Western States		7.22	10.00	35.33	44.14	45.27
Pacific States		3.09	13.87	—	2.18	2.55
U. S. and Territories		4.33	5.50	22.11	26.04	26.12

If we assume an even distribution of wheat consumption throughout the country, it appears that only the West had an exportable surplus: the East and South were dependent on other localities for their wheat. It is estimated that the South purchased an average of ten million bushels of wheat annually from the North in the decade ending with 1860.¹⁸ The leading wheat-producing States in 1850 were Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Virginia, and Illinois; in 1860 the five leading States in order of production were Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Virginia.¹⁹

¹⁵ "The Greatest Grain Port in the World" in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, p. 240.

¹⁶ Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 254; Cole's *The Era of the Civil War* (Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. III), pp. 75, 76.

¹⁷ *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, Agriculture, pp. xxxi, l, lxiii, cxxix. The statistics vary somewhat in the various tables given in this census report.

¹⁸ Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 106.

¹⁹ *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, Agriculture, p. xxix.

STATES IN ORDER OF WHEAT PRODUCTION IN 1860

	<i>Bushels</i>		<i>Bushels</i>
1 Illinois	23,837,023	18 New Jersey	1,763,218
2 Indiana	16,848,267	19 Texas	1,478,345
3 Wisconsin	15,657,458	20 South Carolina	1,285,631
4 Ohio	15,119,047	21 Alabama	1,218,444
5 Virginia	13,130,977	22 Arkansas	957,601
6 Pennsylvania	13,042,165	23 Delaware	912,941
7 New York	8,681,105	24 Oregon	826,776
8 Iowa	8,449,403	25 Mississippi	587,925
9 Michigan	8,336,368	26 Vermont	437,037
10 Kentucky	7,394,809	27 New Hampshire	238,965
11 Maryland	6,103,480	28 Maine	233,876
12 California	5,928,470	29 Kansas	194,173
13 Tennessee	5,459,268	30 Massachusetts	119,783
14 North Carolina	4,743,706	31 Connecticut	52,401
15 Missouri	4,227,506	32 Louisiana	32,808
16 Georgia	2,544,913	33 Florida	2,808
17 Minnesota	2,186,993	34 Rhode Island	1,131

The sources of grain with which the United States had to compete in the foreign export trade were Poland, Russia, Denmark, Germany, and the Black Sea basin.²⁰ By 1853 England had come to depend upon the granaries of America and the Baltic in times of dearth. Yet we learn that one, Jacobs, was deputed in the early 1820's to examine the probable supply of wheat which England might obtain from the continent. He showed that the surplus wheat in all Europe was not more than 30,000,000 bushels per year, of which not more than one-fifth could be imported with advantage into England. In the years when Europe was short a larger demand fell upon the United States.²¹ How the United States was able to meet that demand is explained in the portion of this paper devoted to the export trade.

²⁰ *Home and Foreign Grain Market in De Bow's Review*, Vol. I, p. 40.

²¹ *The Corn Trade of Great Britain and the United States in De Bow's Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 411, 412.

There was another source of grain export which is of historical interest if not of economic significance. According to Captain Charles Wilkes, California was exporting grain as early as 1840. T. O. Larkin estimated California's wheat exports of 1846 at 10,000 fanegas annually.²² This exportation was, of course, curtailed during the gold-rush period. But California began to export wheat, flour, rye, and oats again in considerable amounts in the year 1856.²³ Meanwhile Oregon Territory had begun exporting grain as early as 1839 when the Hudson's Bay Company secured an agreement with the traders of Kamchatka to supply their posts in that region with 8000 bushels of wheat annually.²⁴ The exportations from these areas, however, were of no great economic value.

EXPORT CENTERS OF GRAIN TRADE

A significant shift in the location of the centers of the export trade from the mouth of the Mississippi River to the outlet of the Hudson River occurred during the years 1835 to 1860. The mere fact, in the first place, that there were centers of grain export was important. We have already surveyed the area of production and the advance of population and transportation, showing the periodic developments. The greatest significance in the shift of location of the export centers lies in the building up of New York instead of New Orleans, for the grain trade was a powerful stimulus in the emergence of New York as the leading commercial center as it outdistanced its old rivals — Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. Why did this remote harbor with a vast, intervening area of lakes, land,

²² Davis's *California Breadstuffs* in *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. II, p. 522.

²³ *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, Agriculture, pp. clviii, clix.

²⁴ Gilbert's *Trade and Currency in Early Oregon* (Thesis, Columbia University, 1907), p. 41.

mountains, and poor roads become the export center of the interior lowlands? Why did not the opportunities for river transportation down the Mississippi River retain the trade for New Orleans?

The answer is that the cheap water transportation did at first attract the western trade to New Orleans, which became by 1834 the leading export city of the entire United States.²⁵ The East had ceased to export grain, for it was becoming a manufacturing area. "The westward movement of population and cereal production continued but transportation facilities eastward were inadequate. Agricultural products possessed relatively low value and great bulk, thus preventing eastward shipments by the means then available for the cost of transportation made it impossible to ship wheat overland more than 150 miles."²⁶ As a result, grain was shipped down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the gulf ports and from there exported to Europe.

Some rates of transportation on canals, railroads, and boats, found in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* for the year 1841, show conclusively why New Orleans was at first the center of grain export. A chief engineer on the James River and Kanawha Canal and Railroad compiled the following rates for *Hunt's Magazine*. The cost of freight on canals, exclusive of tolls, was $1\frac{1}{2}\phi$ for one ton per mile; on railroads, $2\frac{1}{2}\phi$; on "McAdam" roads, from 10 to 15ϕ ; on common turnpikes, from 15 to 20ϕ ; on lake steamboats, from 2 to 4ϕ ; and on river steamboats, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}\phi$.²⁷

All this pointed to a promising future for New Orleans.

²⁵ Way's *The Commerce of the Lower Mississippi in the Period 1830-1860* in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. X, p. 59.

²⁶ Schmidt's *The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, p. 398.

²⁷ *Cost of Transportation on Canadian Railroads* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 284.

Local enthusiasm arose for direct steamship connection with European ports. During the summer of 1836 this engrossed the attention of the *New Orleans Bee*. So we see that as the agricultural center of America, in so far as grain was concerned, moved westward, New Orleans grew into a grain port of size and importance. In 1830, twenty-six million dollars worth of produce was received there. By 1841, the amount had increased to fifty million dollars. "Twice as much of the trade of the west in 1843 went from the country via New Orleans as by any other routes."²⁸ But even in 1843, the rival cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were attempting to secure the trade.

Just when the actual shift of trade from New Orleans to New York occurred is hard to say. By 1846, Buffalo had passed New Orleans in its receipts of wheat and flour. During the next year, New York was the leading export center of all breadstuffs to the famine stricken British Isles. While New York exported 162,000 bushels of wheat and 2,343,000 bushels of corn to the islands, New Orleans exported 16,000 bushels of wheat and 1,376,000 (in round numbers) bushels of corn.²⁹ The compiled results for the year 1846-1847 show New York leading in the export of flour, meal, wheat, and corn. New Orleans was next in importance, followed by Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston.³⁰ By 1850, a division line had been so drawn across

²⁸ Winston's *Notes on the Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836*, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XI, p. 205; Galpin's *The Grain Trade of New Orleans, 1804-1814*, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, pp. 506, 507; Way's *The Mississippi Valley and Internal Improvements, 1825-1840*, in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. IV, p. 162; Cotterill's *Southern Railroads and Western Trade, 1840-1850*, in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. III, p. 428.

²⁹ *Export of Breadstuffs in 1847-8* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XIX, p. 423.

³⁰ *The Grain and Flour Trade* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 159-163.

Ohio that breadstuffs went toward the lakes while beef, lard, pork, and corn continued to go down the river.³¹

It is surprising that New York had taken the lead so early. For during the famine of 1847 only the Erie Canal and the railroad lines now forming the New York Central Railroad made through communication with the Great Lakes. Until 1850 the law forbade the railroads to carry freight. The Ohio canals at Toledo and Cleveland were the sole carriers for the interior lowlands opening onto the Great Lakes.³² It is not, however, surprising that New York should become the leading export center during the fifties, for the New York Central (1850), Erie (1851), Pennsylvania (1852), Baltimore and Ohio (1853), and numerous branches directly or indirectly connected New York with the interior lowlands.³³

By 1847 New Orleans and the entire country had apparently accepted the idea that New York was to be the export center. Here is an excerpt from *De Bow's Review* that is worth quoting. It appeared in the January issue for 1847.

The supineness with which we of the South have hitherto looked upon the efforts of our Northern brethren to draw away from our port so large a part already of the produce of the great Valley of the Mississippi, should be stopped at once. . . . We have so far given away to the idea that New-York is to be *the great city*, that even the Hon. R. J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, in his recent Report just delivered to Congress, uses the following language:

"Under such a system of reciprocal interchange of commodities with all the world, the great city of New-York would become (what

³¹ Way's *The Commerce of the Lower Mississippi in the Period 1830-1860* in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. X, p. 63.

³² Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 440.

³³ Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 119.

she is now for the States of this Union), the great mart for the commerce of the various nations of the earth."³⁴

A glance at the statistics of wheat and flour exported from New Orleans from 1856 to 1860 reveals the decline in the trade at that port.

<i>Year ending June 30</i>	<i>Flour bbl.</i>	<i>Wheat bu.</i>
1856	251,501	1,096,733
1857	428,436	1,353,480
1858	474,906	596,442
1859	133,193	107,031
1860	80,541	2,189

By 1860 New Orleans was no longer of any importance as an exporting center for the grain and flour of the West destined for Europe.³⁵

We may ask why the city of New York which was practically cut off from the trade of its own State in the early 1820's was, by 1860, drawing from districts two thousand miles distant vast supplies of grain for distribution throughout all the eastern States and for its foreign trade. In the first place the development of canals and railroads made the interior lowlands available to the eastern markets. In the second place, grain exporters chose the eastern routes because of certain disadvantages of the southern river route. There was the risk of damage to flour shipped during the summer months, the uncertainty of river navigation, to say nothing of the slowness of river transportation. Moreover, New York offered superior trade advantages as an importing point and New Orleans had become more engrossed in cotton, sugar, and tobacco.³⁶

³⁴ *Contests for the Trade of the Mississippi Valley* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. III, p. 107.

³⁵ Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 111; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Agriculture, p. clvi.

³⁶ *Contests for the Trade of the Mississippi Valley* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. III, p. 103.

THE GRAIN TRADE³⁷

The centers of trade along the seaboard deserve notice either as points of grain consumption or distribution. They drew the golden harvests of the interior lowlands as if to a magnetized sieve, where all currents converged for measurement and analysis. The comparison was furthered by the realization that the magnetic pull of the sieve varied as the forces of demand and supply fluctuated. Our concern is primarily with foreign demand and the means of supplying that demand.

The foreign commerce of the United States, generally, had a remarkable growth during the forty-five years prior to the Civil War. The gross tonnage of its ocean fleet rose from 854,000 to 2,379,000 tons.³⁸ Leigh Hunt vividly characterized the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century when he wrote, "I can never think of America, without seeing a gigantic counter stretched all along the seaboard."³⁹ Western grain and provisions became items of real importance for the first time in the foreign trade during the fifteen years before the Civil War. It has been suggested that one may date the creation of a world market for grain from the year 1846 when Great Britain became a large importer.

Relatively small quantities of grain were exported prior to 1860. In 1850, only 7,500,000 bushels of wheat out of a total harvest of 100,500,000 bushels were exported. In 1860 Illinois alone produced 115,174,000 bushels of wheat, while only 15,448,000 bushels were exported to foreign

³⁷ This chapter on the grain trade is a survey of the statistical results compiled annually by the Treasury Department, on the trade conditions of the United States.

³⁸ Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 51.

³⁹ Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. III, p. 18.

countries.⁴⁰ This meant that the domestic market for grains increased much faster than the foreign market.

The actual flow of grain swelled with torrential spurts as the supplies of the inland lowlands became available. The total value of breadstuffs shipped abroad during the decade ending in 1840 was \$72,982,235 which mounted to \$170,-288,107 in the decade ending in 1850. This was almost doubled during the next decade, reaching the figure \$315,-350,517.⁴¹ This flow of breadstuffs exports, however, was but one item in the export trade and a very insignificant item in the total.

A comparison of the value of exports for the years 1836 to 1860 reveals some interesting facts.

VALUE OF GRAIN EXPORTS COMPARED TO EXPORTS OF
OTHER PRODUCTS

	<i>Cotton</i>	<i>Grain</i>	<i>Manufactures</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>
1836	\$	\$ 7,431,199	\$ 8,262,958	\$
1837	63,240,102	8,820,542	7,835,757	14,658,919
1838	61,556,811	6,764,664	8,483,321	7,392,029
1839	61,238,982	11,004,855	10,927,529	9,832,934
1840	63,870,307	15,587,657	11,847,840	9,883,957
1841	54,330,341	12,377,282	13,523,072	12,576,703
1842	47,593,464	11,903,652	10,940,611	9,540,755
1843	49,119,806	6,955,908	7,462,155	10,919,602
1844	54,063,501	11,239,437	10,617,556	8,397,255
1845	51,739,643	9,810,508	12,479,725	7,469,819
1846	42,767,341	19,329,585	12,439,218	8,478,270
1847	53,415,848	57,070,356	11,613,260	7,242,086
1848	61,998,294	25,185,647	14,474,892	7,551,122
1849	66,396,967	25,642,363	12,206,731	5,804,207
1850	71,984,616	15,371,756	17,243,130	9,951,023
1851	112,315,000	16,877,000	32,206,547	9,219,251

⁴⁰ Lippincott's *Economic Development of the United States* (2nd Edition), p. 441; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, p. cxliv.

⁴¹ Evans's *Exports, Domestic, from the United States to All Countries, 1789-1883*, in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 48th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIV, Doc. No. 49, Part 2, pp. 21, 23, 113, 115.

VALUE OF GRAIN EXPORTS COMPARED TO EXPORTS OF
OTHER PRODUCTS

	<i>Cotton</i>	<i>Grain</i>	<i>Manufactures</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>
1852	87,965,732	19,882,588	56,300,768	10,031,283
1853	109,456,464	23,793,388	46,148,465	11,319,319
1854	93,596,220	51,190,680	26,179,503	10,016,046
1855	88,143,844	23,651,362	28,027,180	14,712,468
1856	128,382,351	59,390,906	30,129,258	12,129,258
1857	131,575,859	58,333,176	30,139,666	20,260,772
1858	131,386,661	35,924,848	30,242,996	17,009,767
1859	161,434,923	24,046,752	33,757,660	21,074,038
1860	191,206,555	27,590,298	39,574,398	15,806,555 ⁴²

Cotton was foremost in the total value of exports from year to year throughout the period. At various times the export value of grain exceeded the export values of either manufactured products or tobacco or both. At other times the value of exported manufactures exceeded that of grain. Between 1836 and 1860 the value of grain exports was exceeded by the value of tobacco exports for 1837, 1838, 1841, and 1843 only.

An examination of the tables on the following pages will serve to certify these variations in the flow of grains, either in the form of grain or milled products. In the first place, the total value of wheat exported was less than that of flour. The proportion of grain to flour shipped rose, however, toward the end of the period.

TOTAL EXPORT OF WHEAT 1836-1860 ⁴³				
	<i>Bushels of</i>		<i>Barrels of</i>	
	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Flour</i>	<i>Value</i>
1836	2,062	\$ 2,062	505,400	\$ 3,572,599
1837	17,303	27,206	318,719	2,987,269

⁴² The following observations were made from a compilation of statistics found in *Treasury Reports on Commerce and Navigation*.

⁴³ Evans's *Exports, Domestic, from the United States to All Countries, 1789-1883*, in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 48th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIV, Doc. No. 49, Part 2, pp. 23, 115, 116. The fiscal year ended on June 30.

TOTAL EXPORT OF WHEAT 1836-1860

	<i>Bushels of</i>		<i>Barrels of</i>	
	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Flour</i>	<i>Value</i>
1838	6,291	8,125	448,161	3,603,299
1839	96,325	144,191	923,151	6,925,170
1840	1,720,860	1,635,483	1,897,501	10,143,615
Decade	2,456,986	2,554,432	9,334,896	56,579,601
1841	868,585	822,881	1,515,817	7,759,646
1842	817,958	916,616	1,283,602	7,375,356
1843	311,685	264,109	841,474	3,763,073
1844	558,917	500,400	1,438,574	6,759,488
1845	389,716	336,779	1,195,230	5,398,593
1846	1,613,795	1,681,975	2,289,476	11,668,669
1847	4,399,951	6,049,350	4,382,496	26,133,811
1848	2,034,704	2,669,175	2,119,393	13,194,109
1849	1,527,534	1,756,848	2,108,013	11,280,582
1850	608,661	643,745	1,385,448	7,098,570
Decade	13,131,506	15,641,878	18,559,523	100,431,897
1851	1,026,725	1,025,732	2,202,335	10,524,331
1852	2,694,540	2,555,209	2,799,339	11,869,143
1853	3,890,141	4,354,403	2,920,918	14,783,394
1854	8,036,665	12,420,172	4,022,386	27,701,444
1855	798,884	1,329,246	1,204,540	10,896,908
1856	8,154,877	15,115,661	3,510,626	29,275,148
1857	14,570,331	22,240,857	3,712,053	25,882,316
1858	8,926,196	9,061,504	3,512,169	19,328,884
1859	3,002,016	2,849,192	2,431,824	14,433,591
1860	4,155,153	4,076,704	2,611,596	15,448,507
Decade	55,255,528	75,028,680	28,927,786	180,143,666

The total export value of corn was less during the decade, 1830-1840, but far greater after 1840 than the value of meal. As a matter of fact, the export value of meal decreased during the decade from 1850 to 1860. The remaining grains — rye, oats, and smaller kinds — were exported in relatively insignificant quantities. The total export value of corn was greater than that for wheat during the decades 1830-1840 and 1840-1850. The reverse situation was true during the next decade. Flour, of course, was the

leading export. Even meal exports exceeded wheat during the decade of the thirties. The more outstanding relationships existing in the flow of grain through the export centers may be observed by glancing over the detailed tables in this article.

TOTAL EXPORT OF CORN⁴⁴

	<i>Bushels</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Barrels of</i>	<i>Value</i>
			<i>Meal</i>	
1836	124,791	\$ 103,702	140,917	\$ 621,560
1837	151,276	147,982	159,435	763,652
1838	172,321	141,992	171,843	722,399
1839	162,306	141,095	165,672	658,421
1840	574,279	338,333	206,063	705,183
Decade	3,753,919	2,677,815	1,661,313	6,202,292
1841	535,727	312,954	232,284	682,457
1842	600,308	345,150	209,199	617,817
1843	672,608	281,749	174,354	454,166
1844	825,282	404,008	247,882	641,029
1845	840,184	411,741	269,030	641,552
1846	1,826,068	1,186,663	298,790	945,081
1847	16,326,050	14,395,212	948,060	4,301,334
1848	5,817,634	3,837,483	582,339	1,807,601
1849	13,257,309	7,966,369	405,169	1,169,625
1850	6,595,092	3,892,193	259,442	760,611
Decade	47,296,262	33,033,522	3,626,549	12,021,273
1851	3,426,811	1,762,549	203,622	622,866
1852	2,627,075	1,540,225	181,105	574,380
1853	2,274,909	1,374,077	212,118	709,974
1854	7,768,816	6,074,277	257,403	1,002,976
1855	7,807,585	6,961,571	267,208	1,237,122
1856	10,292,280	7,622,565	293,607	1,175,688
1857	7,505,318	5,184,666	267,504	957,791
1858	4,766,145	3,259,039	237,637	877,692
1859	1,719,998	1,323,103	258,885	994,269
1860	3,314,155	2,399,808	233,709	912,075
Decade	51,503,092	37,501,880	2,412,798	9,064,833

⁴⁴ Evans's *Exports, Domestic, from the United States to All Countries, 1789-1883*, in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 48th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIV, Doc. No. 49, Part 2, pp. 21, 113.

These tables show that the years 1847 and 1857 were peak years, with slight variations, in the trade of both products. The years of small export business were 1845, 1850, 1853, and 1859. Wheat showed more consistent and increasing pulsations of export. Should we say they came with the regularity of a surf, rising, ever rising? Our sea this time was the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes with its billowing grain stands. The years 1840, 1847, 1854, 1857, and 1861 were years of large export trade in wheat.

On the other hand, the exports of corn ricocheted about in wild fashion. The peak year for corn was 1847. The years 1849 and 1856 were lesser peaks. Little corn was exported before 1847, yet as we have already shown the total export of corn for the twenty years from 1830 to 1850 was greater than that for wheat. The years 1848, 1853, and 1859 show a low exportation of corn. At the close of the period of study — 1860 — an increase in corn exportation is to be noted.

MARKET VALUES OF CORN, CORN MEAL, WHEAT, AND FLOUR⁴⁵

	<i>Corn</i>	<i>Corn Meal</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Flour</i>
	<i>Bu.</i>	<i>Bbl.</i>	<i>Bu.</i>	<i>Bbl.</i>
1836	83.1¢	\$4.41	\$1.00	\$7.06
1837	97.8	4.79	1.57	9.37
1838	82.3	4.20	1.29	8.04
1839	86.9	3.97	1.50	7.50
1840	58.9	3.42	.95	5.35
1841	58.4	2.94	.95	5.12
1842	57.5	2.95	1.12	5.75
1843	41.9	2.61	.85	4.47
1844	49.0	2.59	.90	4.70
1845	49.0	2.38	.86	4.52
1846	64.1	3.16	1.04	5.09
1847	88.2	4.53	1.37	5.96

⁴⁵ Evans's *Exports, Domestic, from the United States to All Countries, 1789-1883*, in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 48th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIV, Doc. No. 49, Pt. 2, pp. 21, 23, 113, 115.

MARKET VALUE OF CORN, CORN MEAL, WHEAT, AND FLOUR

	<i>Corn</i> <i>Bu.</i>	<i>Corn Meal</i> <i>Bbl.</i>	<i>Wheat</i> <i>Bu.</i>	<i>Flour</i> <i>Bbl.</i>
1848	66.0¢	\$3.10	\$1.31	\$6.22
1849	60.1	2.89	1.14	5.35
1850	59.0	2.93	1.06	5.12
1851	51.4	3.06	1.00	4.78
1852	58.6	3.17	.95	4.24
1853	60.4	3.35	1.12	5.06
1854	78.2	3.90	1.55	6.89
1855	89.2	4.63	1.66	9.04
1856	74.1	4.00	1.85	8.34
1857	69.1	3.58	1.53	6.97
1858	68.4	3.69	1.02	5.50
1859	76.9	3.84	.95	5.93
1860	72.4	3.90	.98	5.92

Prices of breadstuffs evidenced a general rise over the entire period. A glance at the tables on the preceding pages shows there was an average rise in the price of wheat per bushel. This is not true for corn, which dropped in value. It is worth noting, also, that there is not, necessarily, any connection between the total amount of corn or wheat exported and the price per bushel. In the case of wheat, however, there were rises in price during the peak years of export, in 1847 and 1854 but not in 1840 and 1857, while the price of wheat was high when export was less during the years 1837, 1839, and 1842.

Corn shows a gradual drop in price until 1845, while the price rose immediately in accord with the increase in export. But until then, the exportation of corn had gradually increased. During this period corn never quite regained its high-water price at 97 cents in 1837. The significances of the fluctuations and their relationships are to be discussed in the next section.

The gradual demand of Europe for more bread, founded on the constant change going on in the direction of indus-

trialization had come to affect the grain trade of the United States during this period. This fact was noted by a writer of *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* in the year 1859. He said:

The change of industry in Europe is in a continual diversion from agriculture to the arts. . . . The natural result follows — *relatively* less crops. The great countries of Europe, which used formerly to produce a surplus of agricultural products, now scarcely produce enough for their own consumption, in ordinary seasons, and never in bad years. The most conspicuous of these nations is Great Britain, which *imports* every year; but sixty years ago, exported grain. France is about balanced; in good seasons exporting, and in bad ones, importing. On the whole, Southern Europe about maintains its own, while Russia and Poland are exporting countries.⁴⁶

The observation was close to the truth. Statistics available today complete the picture. England and the British-American Colonies, including Canada, were the leading importers of wheat from the United States. Scotland's first importation of wheat during this period amounted to \$6. The British West Indies, England, and Ireland were the areas to which most of our corn was shipped. The West Indies took most of our corn meal. Brazil led in the importation of American flour for eight years. England imported most of our flour, with the British-American Colonies vying for honors. Most of the rye exported from the United States was imported by Australia, British West Indies, Canada, Belgium, or England. This means that the various countries mentioned led in the importation of the respective products and not that each imported more than all the other countries together.

The rather unusual importations of flour to be noted are: China (1839), Argentina (1839), Mexico (1845), Philippines (1843), Australia (1843), and Africa (1837). The areas to which flour was shipped included Turkey, China,

⁴⁶ *Breadstuffs in Europe* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLI, p. 127.

Argentina, Canada, Scandinavia, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Tuscany. The Anglo-Saxon race on the whole was the greatest consumer of wheat flour.

FACTORS OF THE GRAIN TRADE

The forces which drew the golden flood from the interior lowlands to the exporting centers of the seaport cities have been described as magnetic pulls which acted upon the grain. Of these the most important were foreign demand and local conditions. These fluctuated in their force with the varying circumstances of famines and good harvests in Europe, trade agreements, domestic laws such as the Corn Laws of England, processes of industrialization, and improvements in transportation, cultivation, and harvesting. Definite relationships have been found between the fluctuations noted in the trade and the factors to be discussed now. The fundamental outline of this chapter is based upon *Niles' Weekly Register* from 1836 to 1848 and *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* from 1848 to 1860.

The grain trade of the United States entered a new stage in 1835. In the first place the source of supply for the export trade had shifted to the Great Lakes region and was therefore necessarily connected with the accompanying problems of production and marketing. Secondly, our position in the trade of the world had changed markedly after 1815. It is with the first consideration that a potent relationship will be shown between the total foreign grain trade and trade or commerce in general.

In the previous chapter it was noted that the current of grain through the sieve to foreign markets was but a drop in the bucket compared with domestic consumption. The problems of production and marketing in the newly conquered areas of the Great Lakes explain this. If an agricultural nation is to carry on any considerable commerce

with the outside world it must necessarily export farm products. But the grain products of this region were so remote that the cost of transportation to the seaboard was greater than the value of the produce. For even the crops on the fertile lands of western New York had gone begging until the Erie Canal was constructed and the inhabitants had been able to purchase few manufactured or foreign articles. Because of poor transportation facilities it seems remarkable that "the farmer had any produce left to exchange for these foreign goods . . . when we consider that in parts of Ohio he must give four bushels of wheat for a yard of domestic cassinet and twenty for a pair of boots."⁴⁷

Now it is true that, in the United States in general, the railroad was needed to develop the agricultural districts; but the high rates made the early railroads of little practical use for freight. Moreover there were only 20,000 miles of railroad in operation in the entire country by 1860, although these few miles did force the competing means of transportation to be more efficient.⁴⁸

As a matter of fact the construction of the railroads actually curtailed the exportation of grain for a time because of the increase of food consumption by the road builders. As Thos. P. Kettell wrote in 1869, "The speculators and road builders, who ate up the produce of that area, during the process of road construction, have vanished, and the whole is now offered by a hundred channels to the best bidders of Europe."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Day's *A History of Commerce*, pp. 507, 508; Sterns's *The Foreign Trade of the United States from 1820 to 1840* in *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. VIII, p. 41.

⁴⁸ Day's *A History of Commerce*, pp. 511, 541.

⁴⁹ Kettell's *Eighty Years' Progress* (1869), pp. 156-159, quoted in Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 416.

While 1200 steamboats were employed upon the waters of the West by 1848, there were, as we have seen, factors that prevented the use of the river route in grain exporting. This left the canals to attempt the transportation to the sea of what surplus of grain there was, with the result that in "the years of large demand heretofore the means of transportation did not exist."⁵⁰

The Federal government had disposed of sufficient land to produce an exportable surplus of grain, overlooking the lack of transportation. Farms totaling 68,655,203 acres had been sold in the twenty years preceding 1860. Nearly 43,000,000 acres of land were taken up in the lowlands of the Great Lakes.⁵¹ Moreover, sufficient population had come in to cultivate this land. Between 1820 and 1840, the population of the States north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River had increased as a whole over 360 per cent. In 1850 there were some 8.9 persons per square mile in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. By 1860 this had mounted to 16.08.⁵² Immigrants and migrating eastern farmers were eagerly advancing upon the fertile soils of these new areas.

These rapidly multiplying farmer groups were aided in their conquest of the interior lowlands by the improved machinery of this new age. Two factories established in Pittsburgh made plows for the prairie soil of the West and as early as 1836 were turning out plows at the rate of

⁵⁰ Day's *A History of Commerce*, p. 518; Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 405-408.

⁵¹ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 415; Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 147; Clark's *The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley during the Fifties* in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. VII, p. 148.

⁵² Sample's *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, p. 156; Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 550.

34,000 per year. Moreover, as the period of our study opened, the conveniences of reapers were known, for Obed Hussey had produced one in 1833, followed by Cyrus McCormick the next year.⁵³ So we have the source of a grain supply, the population, and tools to work it. Why was not more grain exported?

We have already said the transportation factor was inhibitive, almost prohibitive. Now the expansion of population, necessary as it was to the development of the country, proved in its early stages to contribute comparatively little to the growth of foreign commerce. The railroads and immigrants "produced such a demand for food at the door of the growers as to leave but little surplus to send East, and the quantities that did go abroad could be spared only at very high prices."⁵⁴ The immigrants who arrived between 1820 and 1860 were consumers of grain first and farmers secondarily.⁵⁵ Clive Day in his *History of Commerce* declares that whereas the average share of each inhabitant in foreign trade was over \$30 in 1800, it was a little over \$20 in 1860 and ranged between \$10 and \$15 through much of the intervening period.⁵⁶ Thus the conquest of the grain growing regions of the Great Lakes region actually reduced the total foreign grain trade in comparison with the total export of the country.

In the second place, the foreign grain trade of the United States had entered a new stage due to conditions in the world outside. Prior to 1815, American prosperity had been due largely to European wars. With the return of

⁵³ Flint's *A Hundred Years Progress in the Report of the United States Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1872, pp. 282-287.

⁵⁴ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 439; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 405-408.

⁵⁵ *Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, pp. 13, 14, 16.

⁵⁶ Day's *A History of Commerce*, p. 501.

peace, the states of Europe escaped from their commercial dependence upon the United States and our exports of breadstuffs and provisions declined as Europe returned to the policy of protecting the domestic food supply and our merchants had to face not only active competition but also the adverse legislation of other countries.

Certain steps were, however, made during the period from 1835 to 1860 and even earlier to remove the international barriers of trade. In 1857 Smith Homans characterized the situation as follows: "The period 1812 to 1854 has been celebrated by an approach to a more liberal internationality, and a reciprocity something else than in name. The progress in the last ten years, has been most strongly marked toward that ultimatum."⁵⁷ The West India trade was opened to the United States by Great Britain in 1830. This paved the way for our market there. Shipping arrangements were made with Norway and Sweden, Brazil, Martinique, and Guadeloupe in 1828, with Prussia in 1829, with Great Britain and Canada in 1830, with Austria-Hungary in 1831, with Spain, Mexico, and Russia in 1832, with Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1834, and with Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, Tuscany, and Venezuela in 1836.⁵⁸ Our tariff schedules varied a great deal from 1832 to 1860, but on the whole the compromise tariff of 1833 and the Walker tariff of 1846, further reduced in 1857, made for lower rates. Too much must not be taken for granted, however, concerning the effect of the tariff on trade. One writer said of it: "Even in the growth of international trade, where some direct point of connection might be found, we cannot measure the effect of low duties; for international trade was

⁵⁷ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 419, quoting from Homans's *An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States* (1857), pp. 61-63.

⁵⁸ Johnson's *History of the Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 41.

growing between all countries under the influence of cheapened transportation and the stimulus of the great gold discoveries.”⁵⁹

Two other matters of minor significance deserve attention as factors affecting the general flow of grain. The export of cotton, for example, took precedence over all other exports. That this actually inhibited the export of grain is the contention of W. P. Sterns who wrote: “The steadily increasing European demand for cotton . . . had a disastrous effect on the market for northern farm and factory products in the South. The cotton ships on their return from Europe carried freight at the very lowest rates in preference to sailing in ballast. This enabled the French farmer . . . to meet the American producer in successful competition in the New Orleans market.”⁶⁰ A second minor hindrance to the export grain trade was also given by Sterns who thought the American farmers who advanced into the interior lowlands “undoubtedly gave a part of their time to supplying the demands of the market, but it would seem that they depended for most of their expenditures upon the more exciting occupation of ‘buying land cheap and selling dear.’ ”⁶¹

The factors which influenced the foreign grain trade as it actually existed during the period from 1835 to 1860 will be taken up next. While but a small per cent of the whole, that trade made a significant beginning. The number of bushels of wheat and corn exported from the United States from year to year is given in the tables on pages 42-44.

The year 1835 to 1836 contributed little grain to foreign

⁵⁹ Taussig's *The Tariff History of the United States* (8th Edition), p. 122.

⁶⁰ Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 218; Sterns's *The Foreign Trade of the United States from 1820 to 1840* in *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. VIII, pp. 41, 42.

⁶¹ Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 218.

trade. In fact, the April, March, and June issues of *Niles' Weekly Register* are replete with notices of actual importations of grain. For example, on April 2, 1836, we find this item: "The brig Ark has arrived at the port of New York from London, has on board 1,788 bags wheat, 600 bags oats and 2,750 barrels flour!"⁶² In the fall of 1836 *Niles' Register* contained the following prophecy: "Should the corn crop be cut off in the northernmost states, as it is now very liable to be by the early appearance of frost, the extraordinary phenomenon will probably occur, of the greatest grain-growing country in the world becoming dependant upon foreign countries for a portion of its bread." In fact it was reported that in 1835 the value of imported bread-stuffs was \$311,116.⁶³ Favorable wheat crops in Ireland and England and short crops here created the very inauspicious foreign grain trade shown in the table for the year 1836. The same factors produced the high prices of grain noted for the years 1836-1840 in the table for grain prices on page 45.

In the spring of 1837, *Niles' Register* had the following item: "In the city of New York, within a few days past, 5,000 bushels good white German wheat have been sold at 215 cents a bushel. A cargo of 15,000 bushels, very prime, of the crop of 1836, is held at 250 cents. 5,000 bushels rye on the spot sold at the high price of 170 cents per bushel for distillation."⁶⁴ About 1,369,300 bushels of wheat were imported during the period, from October, 1835, to April, 1837.⁶⁵ The month of June, 1837, however, gave promise of abundant crops in the fall, but, in fact, the deliveries up the Erie Canal in August fell off, a loss of \$1,760,000 to the

⁶² *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. L, p. 74.

⁶³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. LI, p. 17.

⁶⁴ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. LI, p. 384.

⁶⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. LII, p. 147.

West.⁶⁶ December prices remained firm so the foreign wheat was imported at a profit.⁶⁷

The Panic of 1837 was not the result of abnormal foreign trade conditions, but when the business reaction came, a set-back in imports and exports occurred. It was several years before the effects of the panic were erased and even then there was little to stimulate trade.⁶⁸ In the spring of 1838, flour and grain supplies were abundant, but the low prices caused farmers to withhold their crops and hence there was an apparent shortage.⁶⁹ Corn was a little ahead of wheat in the foreign trade.

In July, 1838, Niles declared, "The wheat harvest . . . is on the whole one of the richest that ever was gathered." He hoped we would find a market in South America or the West Indies.⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, most of our rye, oats, meal, and corn went to the West Indies. Brazil and other South American countries were taking quantities of our flour and we had been shipping wheat to the British-American Colonies and the West Indies.⁷¹ In November, 1839, it was reported that the harvests in England had turned out very poor because of their immaturity. In Ireland they were the worst of all on account of the rainy, cold weather. The Baltic Sea harvest was ordinary. The Black Sea area had been hit by a drought.⁷² England's grain stock was consumed. The result can be seen in the export figures for 1840.

In September, 1840, Niles reported the fall harvest in

⁶⁶ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. LII, pp. 257, 370.

⁶⁷ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LIII, p. 240.

⁶⁸ Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45.

⁶⁹ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LIV, p. 2.

⁷⁰ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LVI, p. 338.

⁷¹ See U. S. Treasury reports on commerce and navigation, 1836-1860.

⁷² *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LVII, p. 162.

England good.⁷³ The grain trade now entered upon a five-year period of little activity, but certain factors arising during that time merit attention. The fanning mill, introduced about 1840, helped farmers to market grain.⁷⁴

In early May, 1841, predictions of the repeal of the Corn Laws of England were made.⁷⁵ These laws, adopted in 1828, worked to benefit the owners of land. A sliding scale of duty on breadstuffs was so placed as to protect domestic grain growers. For example, when the price was 62 shillings and under 63 shillings per quarter, the duty was 1£, 4s., 8d.; when the price was from 70 to 71 shillings per quarter, the duty was 10s., 8d. The duty on flour was fifty per cent higher than that on grain. The net result of the act was reported as follows in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* for December, 1841: "the only tendency of the corn laws is to swell the rents and incomes of the owners of land. . . . When England has a short supply of corn, and is forced to have recourse to other countries, she does not find on hand a surplus ready for her purpose. She is not a regular customer."⁷⁶

Another account of the Corn Laws read as follows: "Notwithstanding the immense increase of production of grain, owing to the oppression of the corn laws to the poor, there is more suffering for the want of bread in Great Britain and Ireland, than in any other part of Europe. . . . The present duty in England on American flour is about \$2.70 per barrel, which amounts to a prohibition."⁷⁷ The

⁷³ Niles' *National Register*, Vol. LIX, p. 48.

⁷⁴ Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 264.

⁷⁵ Niles' *National Register*, Vol. LX, p. 225.

⁷⁶ Whiton's *The British Corn Laws* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. V, pp. 520, 521.

⁷⁷ *Exports of Flour and Wheat, from 1790-1838*, in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. IV, pp. 573, 574.

article in the June, 1841, number of *Hunt's Magazine* explained the unfavorable trade balance of the United States from 1790 to 1840, as due to the Corn Laws.

The year 1841 was one of poor harvests and bad times in Great Britain and many were driven to poor relief.⁷⁸ In June, 1841, all the manufacturing and commercial towns of England were holding large meetings in opposition to the Corn Laws. In September, heavy rains in Europe were threatening the crops and causing a rise in prices. In the fall of 1841, the potato crop failed in Ireland.⁷⁹

The year 1842 saw attempts of the Canadians to control the wheat and flour trade of the west. Sir Robert Peel's bill which levied a duty on wheat and flour exported into Canada from the United States ended attempts to evade the Corn Laws.⁸⁰ This led to the letter of Dr. John S. Bartlett of New York, editor of the *Albion*, to Lord Ashburton. He argued that the United States should be permitted to supply England with breadstuffs by way of Canada for several reasons: (1) the St. Lawrence River was the natural outlet for bulky articles from North America; (2) wheat by this route might enter England under superior rate advantages; (3) when the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence should become available, Quebec would be the normal outlet; (4) Great Britain could afford to reduce rates in order to stimulate the trade, for by this means a market in the United States would be created. An additional export to Great Britain, Dr. Bartlett also pointed out, would be another bond uniting the two countries and would tend to dissipate the clouds that then overshadowed the pacific relations of England and America.⁸¹ Perhaps this explains the large

⁷⁸ Day's *History of Commerce*, p. 369.

⁷⁹ Niles' *National Register*, Vol. LX, p. 242, Vol. LXI, pp. 16, 81, 257.

⁸⁰ Niles' *National Register*, Vol. LXII, p. 176.

⁸¹ *The Fame of Indian Corn* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 238, 239.

shipments of corn during the famine. Extensive debates raged in Congress over the desire to ship grain to England, via Canada.⁸²

Perhaps these memorials had their effect. At all events, British statesmen by 1842 saw that the demands of English working people for food had outgrown the ability of the islands to supply it on terms which could be paid by the laborers. So they removed the prohibition on the import of cattle and provisions and reduced the duty on grain.⁸³ The wisdom of this policy became apparent during the famine of 1846. The duty on wheat at Liverpool, in July, 1842, was only 8 shillings per quarter, but wheat was scarce in the New York market in October, and the exports showed the effect of the reduced tariff.⁸⁴

Another factor entered the grain trade during the period from 1840 to 1845. Lord Palmerston had ordered his representatives in various countries to make a survey of the available grain supplies. Statistics from the survey of 1840 were compiled for use in the Senate of the United States in the Leavitt's memorial, published in July, 1842. This showed that the entire amount of grain available from St. Petersburg, Liebau, Odessa, Warsaw, Stockholm, Dantzic, Konigsburg, Stettin, Memel, Elsinore, Hamburg, Palermo, Antwerp, and Rotterdam could not exceed 18,000,000 bushels — the approximate surplus of Ohio. The memorial further showed that whereas St. Petersburg could lay wheat down at Liverpool for 93½ cents per bushel, St. Louis could do the same for 85 cents, if the Corn Laws were removed. This raised some enthusiasm for a greater foreign market. In May, 1843, Daniel Webster

⁸² *The English Market by Way of Canada* in the *Prairie Farmer*, Vol. III, p. 135.

⁸³ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 415.

⁸⁴ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXII, p. 368, Vol. LXIII, p. 128.

urged the reduction of English rates to avert a great depression in the grain growing States of the West. He cited the trade with Brazil to prove the desirability of reciprocity.⁸⁵

In spite of these influences, the favorable weather and crops in England, the determination of Sir Robert Peel to maintain the Corn Laws, the slow progress of the Corn Law League during 1844, and abundance of breadstuffs in all parts of the world prevented any immediate action to increase our foreign grain trade.⁸⁶ During the year 1845 increased attention to the home market appeared. In a May issue of *Niles' Register* appeared this statement: "The wheat growers owe the increased price of their staple to the increase of the home market, and to nothing else . . . of twenty-six states, only seven raise a surplus of wheat, viz: Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan." To argue for the British market would be "realizing the fortunes of the dog, who grasped at the shadow and lost the substance. . . . To speak more gravely, (though the task is difficult when we see in fancy rising the 'indefinite increasing' millions of British youth, all with their innocent mouths wide open for a loaf of American bread, do these free traders imagine that the people of England have got no wheat?" The paper went on to explain that the annual exports from the United States to all countries of the world were but one-twenty-second part of the crop of 1843 and even if the Corn Laws had been repealed, the American farmer could not supply the English market until he had reduced his wants to the level of the Russian serfs. Our principal customers from abroad were Great Britain, Brazil, and Cuba, the writer

⁸⁵ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 211, 221, Vol. LXV, p. 344.

⁸⁶ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXIV, p. 176, Vol. LXV, p. 402, Vol. LXVI, pp. 366, 444.

declared. Massachusetts purchased from other States twice as much grain as Great Britain did, and New Jersey purchased twice as much as Brazil.⁸⁷

The irresistible forces of nature swept all resistance to free trade away. In the fall of 1845, heavy rains ruined the English grain crops. Starving millions were forced to pay double the usual price on small loaves of bread.⁸⁸ The Anti-Corn Law League was elated over the prospect of a repeal of the law. In October, 1845, floods destroyed the wheat fields of northern Europe. Late in 1845, Lord John Russell issued an article favoring the repeal of the Corn Laws. In the spring of 1846, Lord Ashburton made a speech on the question and declared that Great Britain could not expect supplies of grain from the United States, pointing out that American grain growers had not been shipping to Great Britain via Canada in spite of its low duty of four shillings. Similar sentiment was evidenced in *Niles' Register* in March. The United States was then operating under the conservative, protective tariff of 1842.⁸⁹

Even in America there was opposition to any concessions in return for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Representative Charles Hudson, of Massachusetts, made a speech in the House of Representatives, on February 26, 1846, directed against making tariff reductions to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws. He said, in part: "We see Sir Robert Peel and Sir Robert Walker [Secretary of the Treasury] in what the gentleman from S. Carolina (Mr. Rhett) calls 'a disastrous conjunction,' to bring about this result . . . the greater part of our wheat is consumed at home".⁹⁰

⁸⁷ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 163, 182.

⁸⁸ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXIX, p. 32.

⁸⁹ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 81, 257, Vol. LXX, pp. 25, 48; Garrison's *Westward Extension*, pp. 180, 182.

⁹⁰ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXX, pp. 122, 123.

But the Great Famine had begun. At the close of July, 1846, the price of flour in New York was \$4.00 per barrel and in May, 1847, it reached \$9.12 per barrel. England had become a manufacturing country by 1846 and could not produce enough breadstuffs.⁹¹ The Corn Laws were repealed. This was a momentous year in American foreign grain trade and with it began the sudden rise in total shipments.

It has been said that one may perhaps date the creation of a world market for grain from the year 1846, when Great Britain became a large importer.⁹² In Europe there was a deficit in the Low Countries, a failure in France and in all southern Europe. Rye failed throughout all northern Europe.⁹³ Corn came into demand and the House of Barings employed Messrs. Grinnell, Minturn and Co. of New York to purchase corn for them.⁹⁴ The American crop was unusually luxuriant, but, in spite of this, it seems that one of the most drastic famines of the times could draw from the United States only forty-four million bushels of wheat.⁹⁵ There were a number of reasons for this.

The Erie Canal was then the sole channel of transportation from the West and it was so overburdened with business that it cost \$1.25 to transport a barrel of flour from Buffalo to Albany.⁹⁶ Railroad construction had been inactive since 1846.⁹⁷ By October, *Niles' Register* reported that the quantity of wheat imported into England was not

⁹¹ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 405 ff.; *Day's History of Commerce*, pp. 369, 370.

⁹² Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 232.

⁹³ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXXI, p. 53.

⁹⁴ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXX, p. 25.

⁹⁵ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 405.

⁹⁶ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 406.

⁹⁷ Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 45.

much greater in 1846 than in 1845 but the import of corn was nearly six times as great. The corn we shipped, however, represented only 3 per cent of our crop.⁹⁸ Yet our exports of wheat and corn to England constituted only about a third of her imports of these commodities in 1847.⁹⁹

Not only England, but France, Belgium, and Holland suspended their navigation acts to permit vessels to bring in food.¹⁰⁰ The Mexican trade declined rapidly, for the Mexican War was under way.¹⁰¹ *Niles' Register* reported in June, 1847, that Germany, Prussia, Belgium, France, England, and Ireland would all require breadstuffs until their harvests, and the United States was the principal granary from which it must be drawn.¹⁰² The capacity of the United States to deliver was, however, almost destroyed by the insufficiency of the means of transportation. In May, 1847, *Niles' Register* foretold a slump in the grain trade for 1848.¹⁰³

The grain exports did indeed show a rapid decline in the year 1848. In July, 1847, *Niles' Register* reported accounts of an abundant harvest. Farmers were caught in the whirl of high prices, buying during the high prices of May and June and then, in July, the price bottom dropped out.¹⁰⁴ France began exporting wheat in 1848.¹⁰⁵ This contributed to the temporary decline.

⁹⁸ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXXI, p. 125; Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 440.

⁹⁹ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 404.

¹⁰⁰ *Commercial Chronicle and Review in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXII, p. 322.

¹⁰¹ Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 46.

¹⁰² *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXXII, p. 228.

¹⁰³ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXXII, pp. 180, 181.

¹⁰⁴ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXXII, p. 320.

¹⁰⁵ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 405.

In 1849 *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* declared that the aspect of foreign markets was such as again to give a stimulus to the farm produce of the Mississippi Valley.¹⁰⁶ The forces which were acting on the grain trade were, however, artificial and only temporary in their effects. The trade had not assumed any permanent basis and a gradual drop in prices and in the total export of breadstuffs set in and lasted until the Crimean War.¹⁰⁷

Emory R. Johnson declared that the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and in Australia in 1851 enlarged the purchasing demand of grain in foreign countries. Moreover, he declared, the rapid construction of railroads, stimulated by the abundance of money, general business prosperity, and the opening of the West, particularly the Mississippi Valley, did much to increase the grain trade.¹⁰⁸ The statistics compiled and reproduced herein do not, however, show that. The price of grain was down and if the farmers could have disposed of their grain, they would not and did not do so.¹⁰⁹

By 1851, some factors were setting to work to bring an upswing in the grain trade. A drouth followed upon a crop failure in southern Illinois the preceding year. The general crop failures following 1848 had caused farmers to take interest in new fields.¹¹⁰ Too, the failure of a portion of the rye crop and the appearance of a potato disease in central Europe had created an export demand for rye. The

¹⁰⁶ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XIX, p. 410.

¹⁰⁷ Cole's *The Era of the Civil War* (Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. III), p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 46, 47.

¹⁰⁹ *Commercial Chronicle and Review* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXV, p. 596.

¹¹⁰ *Chicago; her Commerce and Railroads* in the *Daily Democratic Press*, 1853, p. 3.

French crop also failed in 1852 and from then through the Russian war, France was again a large importer of grain.¹¹¹

The upswing beginning in 1853 caught the farmer ill-prepared for the sudden awakening which came with the failures of all varieties of wheat from 1847 to 1853, but the year 1853 brought large crops and good prices.¹¹² In 1854 our harvest failed and little grain could be spared even at the high prices abroad. News of the Crimean War arrived in 1854 to help force up the price of all grain. The price of wheat rose from 31 cents to \$1.70 per bushel between May, 1854, and May, 1855.¹¹³ Europe's shortage of 1852, the decrees of 1853 opening markets, and the demands of the Crimean War increased the demand for our breadstuffs in Europe by leaps and bounds.¹¹⁴ The crop of 1855 was a bumper, equal to the demands, and railway facilities were now at hand. But the farmers were reluctant to sell their wheat; they preferred to hold it for higher prices.¹¹⁵

The prospects of an increased trade for 1856 were foretold by *Hunt's Magazine* in October, 1855. Germany's yield was far below the average; so also was the crop in France. There was a deficit in Great Britain. But in the American Northwest the yield was enormous. "The great business of the next year [1856], after cotton, is to be in breadstuffs."¹¹⁶ The forecast proved true; 1857 was another

¹¹¹ *Wheat Trade — Foreign Demand* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 405.

¹¹² Schmidt and Ross's *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, p. 265; *Chicago; her Commerce and Railroads* in the *Daily Democratic Press*, 1854, p. 58.

¹¹³ Cole's *The Era of the Civil War*, p. 383 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Commercial Chronicle and Review* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 94.

¹¹⁵ *Chicago; her Commerce and Railroads* in the *Daily Democratic Press*, 1853, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ *Commercial Chronicle and Review* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 460.

peak year. Agents of foreign governments appeared in American markets to purchase grain.¹¹⁷

The yield in the United States was above the average, while the downward tendency in prices accompanying the prospect of peace in Europe was checked by news from Europe. Heavy rains had damaged the English crop of 1856. The scarcity of labor had curtailed France's supply, and though the Black Sea was again open, the unusual throng attracted there by the war had consumed the stock of grain, so that this region did not compete in the world markets. Spain's supply was limited. It was evident that Spain, France, and England had to depend upon this country for their grain imports. Our commercial chroniclers were duly thankful. "The trade in breadstuffs for export from the United States is steadily growing in importance, and will not henceforth be confined to years of European famine. . . . We ought to be the most grateful people under the sun, for our prosperity is unexampled".¹¹⁸

The optimism was short-lived; the Panic of 1857 set in, and exports took a drop until 1859. In 1857, speculators had begun to talk of short grain crops, and their selfish comments were fulfilled, for the crops of 1858 were poor, due to sudden and severe frost.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the price of wheat dropped. The foreign markets were well supplied locally. France had again become a large exporter and had again established the prohibitive, sliding scale upon imports which had been removed in 1853.¹²⁰ In January,

¹¹⁷ *Chicago; her Commerce and Railroads* in the *Daily Democratic Press*, 1856, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 463, Vol. XXXV, pp. 327, 597.

¹¹⁹ Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. III, pp. 6, 56.

¹²⁰ *Statistics of Trade and Commerce* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLI, p. 351.

Hunt's Magazine contained the following observation: "It will be seen that there is a falling off in the shipments of almost every article of domestic produce. . . . The decrease is most strongly remarked in breadstuffs and provisions. Of course, one reason why breadstuffs have not been shipped more freely has been the comparative plenty of foreign harvests; but another prominent cause is the disarrangement of foreign and domestic exchanges and the great difficulty in moving produce."¹²¹ Wheat prices in America ruled low throughout 1858 due to the abundant crop of 1857, the lack of any demand, and the scarcity of money.¹²²

The bottom of this lag in the foreign grain trade was struck in 1859, and in June, 1859, *Hunt's Magazine* reported: "The good crops of Europe, and low prices of food there, have prevented the usual exports of breadstuffs." In November, the American trade was in such a state that "breadstuffs have ceased to figure in the account [export trade] to any extent."¹²³ After the peak of 1857 a reaction set in equal to that after 1847. Prices had risen on false reports. In June it was discovered that supplies were abundant and a rapid fall of prices occurred.¹²⁴ A low was hit for wheat prices in 1859, though corn held up well.

Heavy rainfall occurred in 1859, producing wheat crops that far outran domestic consumption. At the same time, the harvests of Europe again failed.¹²⁵ The upswing of

¹²¹ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 80.

¹²² Catlin's *First Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago*, 1858, in the *Report of the Chicago Board of Trade*, 1859, p. 18.

¹²³ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XL, p. 709, Vol. XLI, p. 579.

¹²⁴ *Wheat Trade — Foreign Demand* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 403.

¹²⁵ *Wheat Trade — Foreign Demand* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 405ff.; Coman's *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, Vol. II, p. 301.

another peak period of grain exportation had begun, which ended during our period of survey in the middle of its ascent. What occurred during the Civil War is another study.

This completes the compass of this survey of the forces which made up the magnetic pulls on the surplus of grain of the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes. Definite relationships were shown between the "peaks" and "lows" of the grain trade figures for the period. The significance of England as a determining factor in our foreign grain trade was most marked. Peaks of increasing magnitude and lows at recurring cycles of about four years may be noticed. The price peaks consistently related themselves to foreign demand; while the lows were due to other factors than mere absence of foreign demand.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GRAIN TRADE

The foreign grain trade from 1835 to 1860 had certain significances in the agricultural conquest of the interior lowlands of the Great Lakes. In the first place the trade was of considerable importance as a colonizing motive. The vision of billowing fields of merchantable grain beckoned the pioneer to the lands lying between the lakes and the Ohio River. This vision had succeeded those of the fur traders' trap lines, possible mineral wealth, and trade with the Indians. The migrations which advanced down the Valley of the Ohio moved forward from one plot of tilled soil to make another.¹²⁶

The harvests which encouraged migration were primarily those of corn and wheat. Indian corn has been described as almost the sole instrument of settling the western country. "It is this sure and abundant crop which, with little

¹²⁶ *Commercial Chronicle and Review in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 70.

labor, gives the pioneer of the wilderness fodder for horses, cattle, and swine, food for the family, material for bedding, and surplus for sale."¹²⁷ A writer in the *Prairie Farmer* proclaimed the values of wheat as a colonizing force in equally glowing terms: "the wheat crop is the great crop of the Northwest for exchange purposes. It pays debts, buys groceries, clothing, lands, and answers more emphatically the purposes of trade than any other crop."¹²⁸

It was natural that these crops should be cultivated for there was a scarcity of labor and capital; land was cheap; and grain was usually a cash crop. Land could be had at \$1.25 an acre under the act of 1841 and the first ploughing could be made, even when men and teams were hired, at \$2.25 per acre. The soil could be counted on to produce from fifty to a hundred bushels of corn and at least twenty bushels of wheat per acre. The invention and introduction of improved farm machinery constituted another important factor in the extension of the wheat-raising area. Finally, the growth of the domestic markets in the rapidly developing manufacturing centers of the East and the expansion of the foreign markets, especially in England after 1846, developed a strong demand for wheat which was reflected in good prices, all of which stimulated specialization in wheat farming.¹²⁹

Thus as the population increased and continued into the Old Northwest, beyond markets, a demand for avenues of

¹²⁷ *Commercial Chronicle and Review* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, p. 411.

¹²⁸ Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 292), pp. 23-25, quoting from the *Prairie Farmer*, Vol. X, p. 52.

¹²⁹ Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 292), pp. 23-25; Coman's *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, Vol. II, p. 340; Schmidt's *The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 402 ff.

communication were opened and the era of canals and railroads began. These were, in themselves, vast colonizing forces. Cheap and easy transportation was demanded by the farmers, after the failure of the home market forced them to look for an outside market. They favored land grants to the railroads so long as they aided them in their marketing and to obtain the railroads they often rashly loaned their credit. Reciprocally, if the wheat farmer depended upon the railroads in the early period of the wheat industry, it is no less true that the early railroads were dependent upon the wheat farmer.¹³⁰

The position of the foreign demand in this colonizing movement is difficult to measure. Although not important in actual volume, it was, as we shall see in a moment, a determining factor in the price of grain throughout the United States. The editor of the *Census of 1860* was so enthusiastic as to say: "As the production of the United States increased, new and more extensive markets were thrown open — illustrating a grand design of Providence in thus developing a New World to feed the rapidly increasing populations of the Old . . . without this European demand for the grain produced in the United States, the same inducements for opening up the fertile lands of the western States would not have existed. Capitalists would not have been encouraged to construct our immense canals, and lines of railroads, nor to have built our fleets of grain-carrying vessels".¹³¹

In the second place, the grain trade had a certain significance as a force which encouraged speculation. This may

¹³⁰ Merk's *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*, p. 239; Stephenson's *The Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862*, p. 97; Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 292), pp. 19, 156.

¹³¹ *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, p. cxxxvi.

have been a very vital reason for the fluctuating nature of the grain trade and one of the causes of the Panic of 1857. The first, the normal desire for railroads in order to get to a market, proved to be so useful and profitable that railroads became an end instead of a means. They were no longer constructed to facilitate the cultivation of the soil, but for purposes of local speculation. Even wheat was cultivated for speculative purposes. The entire scheme accentuated the natural tendency to that undesirable, economic instability which characterized the frontier region.¹³²

Other factors entered to exaggerate the speculative spirit. The influx of gold had so cheapened its relative value as to raise the nominal prices of all necessities. In 1857, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* felt free to say: "Everybody has been seized with the desire to acquire a fortune without bending the back. . . . If it were not for the tide of immigration from the Old World, we should soon be without laborers, so vulgar does Young America hold it to cultivate the soil. There must be a reaction from this contempt for the toil in the field before the resources of this country shall be evenly developed, and its trade and commerce be no longer subject to these violent fluctuations."¹³³

More encouragement to speculation was given by boom prices which came with the temporary credits obtained through exports to foreign countries. For example, *De Bow's Review* declared the exports of 1847 would swell the credits of the agricultural States to nearly \$50,000,000 more than those the preceding year.¹³⁴ The effect of great

¹³² *Commercial Chronicle and Review* in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 70; Thompson's *The Rise and Decline of the Wheat Growing Industry in Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 292), pp. 123, 138.

¹³³ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 70.

¹³⁴ *Breadstuffs Exported from the United States* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. IV, p. 91.

sales of 1855 was reported as giving more freedom from embarrassment and general independence than ever existed before in the history of the West.¹³⁵ The effect of these booms was electric. There was no longer any thought of quitting the wheat industry. New crusades for wheat lands began. Prairie land which had once been blacklisted became so much in demand that it would sell at almost any price and on any terms. Benjamin H. Hibbard declared that one man of Dane County, Wisconsin, paid twenty dollars per acre for an eighty, with interest at 12 per cent and 13 per cent commission, making it 25 per cent for the first year. It "was under these conditions that the prairie was finally settled. . . . The new impulse to wheat was sadly brief, but it was sufficiently long to bring with it evils which were long-lived. Prominent among these was the craze for horses to take the place of oxen. . . . The purchase of a team was in many instances the first act of a little play in which bankruptcy was the last."¹³⁶

Hunt's Merchants' Magazine contributed another comment in September, 1857, which indicates the relationship between the wheat boom and the Panic of 1857: "Wheat and corn have sold at such high rates during the brief failure of the crops in the old country, that the value of farming lands have been run up above their fair average. . . . Our young men have gone out to the Mississippi, leaving their farms in the older States, because grain was wanted for export at a price which paid far better as a whole than the cultivation of ordinary farm produce for a local market nearer home. . . . When wheat will not bring one dollar a bushel at Chicago, good farming land in Connecticut is cheaper at \$30 per acre, than the prairie fields in Iowa at

¹³⁵ *Chicago; her Commerce and Railroads* in the *Daily Democratic Press*, 1856, p. 7.

¹³⁶ Hibbard's *The History of Agriculture in Dane County Wisconsin* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 101), p. 130.

their late nominal rate.''¹³⁷ It is quite clear that the grain trade had a tendency to encourage speculation in wheat, wheat lands, and railroading which in turn caused fluctuations in the grain trade. The same factors worked to produce the Panic of 1857 under the general head of speculation.

Another result of this grain trade was the building up of trade liaisons and economic dependencies. Before 1840 the amount of wheat raised was insignificant and most of it was used near the place where it was grown. The question of markets did not become important for some years. As an exportable surplus grew it found its way down the Mississippi River to the West Indies. So, prior to 1850, a triangular trade grew up from the West to the Indies and back to the East. The East-West trade moved to the West in the form of manufactured articles. The West paid for these articles from the West Indian grain trade, which was favorable.¹³⁸ After 1850, the western produce was sent East to be exchanged for manufactures or shipped abroad for sale. The result of those trade liaisons was the building up of economic dependences. The United States was building up an empire of its own with sections which took the place of kingdoms. A territorial division of labor was developed, with the East manufacturing more and more, the West devoted to breadstuffs, and the South raising cotton and tobacco.¹³⁹

Transportation was a necessary tie-up to perfect these economic dependencies. Railroads came into being. The

¹³⁷ *Commercial Chronicle and Review in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Review*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 326, 327.

¹³⁸ Schmidt's *The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860*, in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 96, 97; Seaman's *Essay on Progress of Nations* (1852), p. 390, quoted in Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 422.

¹³⁹ Turner's *Rise of the New West*, p. 297.

excitement over railroad building was reflected in England and Europe and resulted in a large shift of capital to the Old Northwest, and this in turn increased the price of wheat. Steamboats and ship-building sprang into being as a result of the high prices obtained in the famine years. The high freights stimulated the building of registered and coasting vessels and greatly increased the lake tonnage. Returns show the latter increased 50 per cent and the building of registered vessels for ocean service was in as large a ratio.¹⁴⁰

The foreign grain trade had a fourth significance in its relation to the agricultural conquest of the interior lowlands in the promotion of commercial enterprises. The Superintendent of the United States Census of 1860 said: "The grain merchant has been in all countries, but more particularly in this, the pioneer of commerce, whether we refer to the ocean or to the inland trade, and not till he was established could other commercial adventurers find a foothold. The commercial history of the United States is based mainly on breadstuffs — staples always marketable at some quotation wherever the human family dwells."¹⁴¹ Whether industry migrates in the wake of expanding grain lands or not, *Niles' Register* in 1845 was advising the development of the grain industry and looking upon the area of the Great Lakes today, we notice that a great industrial region has been developed.

Another significance of the grain trade, which led to the stabilization of farming as an industry in the interior lowlands, was the gradual recognition of our foreign grain trade, by Spain, France, and England as necessary to their food supply. This recognition had been established by

¹⁴⁰ Kettell's *Eighty Years' Progress* (1869), p. 156, quoted in Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, pp. 413, 414; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 405 ff.

¹⁴¹ *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, Agriculture, pp. cxxxv, cxxxvi.

1856.¹⁴² The increase of population in Great Britain and the continent of Europe beyond the capacity of the country to produce food had given the bread question an importance paramount to all others with the European statesmen and it would, it was prophesied, have a powerful influence on our agriculture.¹⁴³ As we shall see presently, prices of grains were largely influenced by the European market. Bearing in mind the tendency to gamble with the price of wheat and its production, because of the fluctuations in prices, it became necessary to stabilize the European demand in order to place the production of wheat in America on a firm basis.

As a side issue of our relationship in the world grain markets there grew up during this period a demand for a St. Lawrence waterway giving Chicago direct connection with the Atlantic Ocean and Europe. In 1856, the first direct shipment of grain from Chicago to Liverpool was made in the schooner "Dean Richmond". Up to 1860, only three or four grain-bearing boats had made the attempt. The chief obstacle was the unsuitability of light-draught schooners for ocean travel, while the want of a return cargo made such ventures inadvisable. Then grew up the many schemes to open the Great Lakes to ocean commerce by constructing a ship canal from Lake Huron to Lake Ontario and another from Lake Huron to the St. Lawrence River. At that time, the fear of New York that such ship canals would damage the canal interests of the State put a quietus on such schemings of the grain interests.¹⁴⁴

In conclusion, the foreign grain trade had a very definite bearing on the price of grain obtained by the pioneers who

¹⁴² Niles' *National Register*, Vol. LXVIII, p. 182; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXV, p. 597.

¹⁴³ Bogart and Thompson's *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, p. 444.

¹⁴⁴ *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, Agriculture, pp. cliii, cliv.

were opening the new fields. Prior to 1840, the export of grain did not determine the home market price, but by 1845, grain prices immediately responded to the European demand. Excerpts from the *Chicago Democrat* read as follows: (September 10, 1845) — “The news by the English steamer now due is looked for with much anxiety by holders who have bought at present high prices, as it will give a decided tone to our market.” (September 24, 1845) — “Wheat in consequence of the news by the Cambria, which represents a failure of the potato crop, has advanced in the Eastern markets.” The work of James E. Boyle on *Chicago Wheat Prices for Eighty-one Years* shows the very close relationship between the world market and Chicago prices of the years from 1842 on.¹⁴⁵

Niles wrote in 1846: “It must be borne in mind, that the selling price of the whole of the grain produced in this country, is regulated almost entirely by what we can obtain for the small portion that we succeed in finding a foreign market for,—and which never amounts to one-twentieth of what we raise!”¹⁴⁶ Since the price trend was generally upward for all grains, in spite of more favorable conditions for production and a constantly growing supply, the explanation must have been on the demand side of the equation.¹⁴⁷ It was the foreign demand, fluctuating as it was during most of the period 1835 to 1860, that raised the prices of our grain.¹⁴⁸ Of some significance in that general price rise was the increased production of gold.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. X, p. 271; Boyle's *Chicago Wheat Prices for Eighty One Years*, pp. 5, 16.

¹⁴⁶ *Niles' National Register*, Vol. LXIX, p. 69.

¹⁴⁷ Sterns's *The Foreign Trade of the United States from 1820 to 1840* in *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. IV, p. 489.

¹⁴⁸ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 423.

¹⁴⁹ *Result of the Increased Production of Gold Upon Prices* in *De Bow's Review*, Vol. XIII, p. 75.

When prices were low and fluctuating, it was not clear whether farmers in the middle States could profitably underdrain, manure, and cultivate the land. By 1860 the increased level of prices had removed the doubt and farming in the grain belt of the Great Lakes Basin had dropped most of its speculative features. The agricultural conquest of the interior lowlands had lost its feverish nature and settled down to the serious business of feeding a nation soon to be rent by civil war and contributing food to the British Isles soon to be visited by another food shortage.

HERBERT J. WUNDERLICH

CAMBRIDGE
MASSACHUSETTS

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The *Letters of Eliab Parker Mackintire, of Boston, 1845-1863, To the Reverend William Salter, of Burlington, Iowa*, edited by Philip Dillon Jordan, are continued in the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library* for August, September, and October, 1934.

Mexican Labor in the United States Migration Statistics, by Paul S. Taylor, appears in the *University of California Publications in Economics*, Vol. XII, No. 3. This is the fourth in a series of articles dealing with Mexican labor in the United States.

The Illinois Central Railroad has recently issued an interesting pamphlet — *Trails to Rails A Story of Transportation Progress in Illinois*, by Carlton J. Corliss. Maps, pictures, and a bibliography add to the historical value of this sketch.

Agricultural History for July, 1934, contains the following articles: *Dr. Johnson's Definition of Oats*, by Allen Walker Read; *The British Corn Crisis and the Oregon Treaty*, by Frederick Merk; and *Agriculture on the Lower Rio Grande*, by Edwin J. Foscue.

The Mission of St. Marc, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *Minnesota Indian Life*, by Willoughby M. Babcock; and *Prehistoric Specialization*, by Wilton E. Erdman, are three articles in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for September, 1934. There is also a shorter article on *The Serpent Effigy on Medicine Butte*, by M. E. Rusinger.

The Confines of a Wilderness, by John Francis McDermott; *Degrees Granted by Early Colleges in Missouri*, by Earl A. Collins; *The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier*, Pt. III, by Carle Brooks Spotts; and *The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri*, Pt. III, by Ruby Johnson Swartzlow, are the articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1934.

Indian Episodes of Early Michigan, by William Renwick Riddell; *When Michigan Was Born*, by Wade Millis; *Lemuel Shattuck*

and the *University of Michigania*, edited by M. M. Quaife and Florence Emery; *Neighborhood House, Detroit Industrial School*, by George B. Catlin; *A Practical Meteorologist: Robert Clark Kedzie*, by Frank S. Kedzie; *Mackinac Island's Historic Fair and Ter-Centennial*, by Henry A. Perry; and *Jean Nicolet*, by Albert H. Poetker, are the articles in the 1934 Summer and Autumn number of the *Michigan History Magazine*.

The Harlow Publishing Company of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, has published a one volume history of the State — *Oklahoma*, by Victor E. Harlow. This is a short, but comprehensive account of the events in Oklahoma, the only State in the Union in which the Indians have played an integral part in the community and have not merely acted as a prelude to the white occupation. The volume presents a good account of the problem of Indian removals. It gives also a kaleidoscopic view of other events of local and national importance. The style and form are those of a text book.

The issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1934, contains the following papers and articles: *The Identity of Gladwin's Informant*, by Helen F. Humphrey; *Registration and Disfranchisement under Radical Reconstruction*, by William A. Russ, Jr.; *John Sherman: A Study in Inflation*, by Jeanette P. Nichols; *Some Aspects of Historical Work Under the New Deal*, by Theodore C. Blegen; *The Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, by Fred A. Shannon; *The Autobiography of Benjamin G. Humphreys*, by Percy L. Rainwater; and *A Bostonian Sends News of the French in the Mississippi Valley*, by Fulmer Mood.

Glimpses of the Past for August, 1934, contains a series of letters from North Carolinians relating to Missouri, which were published in the Greensborough *Patriot* in 1839–1860. One of these, dated September, 1839, contains the following comment on Burlington, Iowa. "For instance, house rents in St. Louis are fully *three times* as high as in Cincinnati, and in Burlington, Iowa Territory, even higher than in St. Louis; thus to secure a good room or house in Burlington (a dirty, sickly — though thriving little place of 2,000 souls) you are compelled to pay prices about equal

to those in Wall Street, New York. The same is the case as regards the price of lots in these towns." The issue for September contains *Life in Colonial St. Louis*.

Early Days of the American Historical Association, 1884-1895, by J. Franklin Jameson; *State and Local Historical Societies in the United States*, by Julian P. Boyd; and *British Government Propaganda and the Oregon Treaty*, by Frederick Merk, are the three articles in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1934. *An International Debt Settlement: the North Carolina Debt to France*, by B. U. Ratchford, and *The Norwegian Element in the Northwest*, by Laurence M. Larson, are two shorter papers, and *John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824: Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters*, contributed by Thomas Robson Hay, appears under the heading, *Documents*.

IOWANA

A history of the Scott County Bar entitled "Ninety Per Cent True Stories of the Scott County Bar" is being compiled by Claus J. Ruymann.

W. H. Kurtz has written an autobiographical sketch under the title *Forty Years in the Service of the Lord*, which includes his education at Wartburg College and at the Seminary at Dubuque and his pastorate at Fontanelle.

Rear Admiral George Collier Remey, 1841-1928; *Judge Orlando C. Howe Somewhat of His Life and Letters*, Pt. III, by F. I. Herriott; *John Francis Rague — Pioneer Architect of Iowa*, by M. M. Hoffman; *William Salter's Letters to Mary Ann Mackintire, 1845-1846* (concluded), edited by Philip D. Jordan; and a continuation of the *Diary of William Savage, Iowa Pioneer, Diarist, and Painter of Birds*, make up the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1934.

A biography of a former Iowan has recently been published by the Johns Hopkins Press under the title, *Franklin Paine Mall, the Story of a Mind*. The author is Florence Rena Sabin. Dr. Mall was born in Benton County, Iowa, on September 28, 1862, and was for many years connected with the Johns Hopkins Medical School

and was one of the leading anatomists and embryologists in the United States. He died on November 17, 1917. A review of this biographical volume, written by Simon Flexner, appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*, October 21, 1934. In this review, Flexner says of Dr. Mall: "He had produced what amounts to a revolution in anatomical thought and performance in the United States and had raised that previously dry-as-dust subject to heights equaling and even surpassing best European models."

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Anderson, Harold H.,

The Role of Environment in Child Conduct (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, April, 1934).

Baird, A. Craig, (Editor)

Essays and Addresses toward a Liberal Education. Boston: Ginn and Company. 1934.

Beer, Thomas,

Intellect and Society (The Saturday Evening Post, July 21, 1934).

Branch, Edward Douglas,

The Sentimental Years. New York: Appleton-Century Company. 1934.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

Hunting the Wow. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. 1934.

Carstens, C. C.,

Trends in the Child Welfare Field (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, April, 1934).

Crawford, Bartholow V., (Editor)

Henry David Thoreau: Representative Elections. New York: American Book Co. 1934.

Dell, Floyd,

The Golden Spike. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1934.

Frederick, John Towner, (Joint author)

Good Writing; a Book for College Students. New York: F. S. Crofts. 1934.

Garland, Hamlin,

Afternoon Neighbors; Further Excerpts from a Literary Log.
New York: Macmillan Company. 1934.

Glaspell, Susan, (Mrs. Norman Matson)

Pollen (Golden Book Magazine, September, 1934).

Hall, James Norman,

Pitcairn's Island (The Saturday Evening Post, September 22,
29, October 6, 13, 20, 27, November 3, 1934).

The Tale of a Shipwreck. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1934.

Hall, James Norman, (Joint author)

Pitcairn's Island. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1934.

Hamlin, H. M., (Editor)

Readings Related to the Objectives for Agriculture. Ames,
Iowa: Collegiate Press. 1934.

Hawley, Charles A.,

Jews, Christians and Higher Education (Jewish Forum,
March, 1934).

Hawley, Charles A., (Joint author)

The Church Looks Ahead. New York: Macmillan Company.
1934.

Herbst, Josephine, (Mrs. John Herrmann)

The Executioner Waits. New York: Harcourt Brace and
Company. 1934.

Herriott, F. I.,

Judge Orlando C. Howe Somewhat of His Life and Letters
(Annals of Iowa, October, 1934).

Hunt, C. C.,

The Grand Lodge of Lessing's Three Rings (Bulletin of the
Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M., September, 1934).

Rival Masonic Bodies (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa,
A. F. & A. M., October, 1934).

Kantor, MacKinlay,
We'll Bring the Jubilee (American Magazine, September,
1934).

Kemmerer, John,
The Hanging. New York: The Longshore Press. 1933.

Kopp, Clara Bird,
Pilgrimage to the Capital (National Republic, July, 1934).

Kurtz, W. H.,
Forty Years in the Service of the Lord. Privately printed.
1934.

Meigs, Cornelia Lynde,
Wind in the Chimney. New York: Macmillan Company.
1934.

Merriam, Charles E.,
Political Power. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
1934.
Snapshots of Chicago Leaders (Survey Graphic, October,
1934).

Murray, Frederick G.,
Pigmentation, Sunlight, and Nutritional Disease (American
Anthropologist, July-September, 1934).

Peck, John H.,
The Rational Treatment of Tuberculosis (Bulletin of Iowa
State Institutions, April, 1934).

Porter, Kirk H.,
County Home Rule a Mistake (National Municipal Review,
October, 1934).

Read, Allen Walker,
Dr. Johnson's Definition of Oats (Agricultural History, July,
1934).

Reu, M.,

Luther's German Bible. Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern. 1934.

Rice, Merton Stacher,

The Distinction of the Indistinguished. New York: Abingdon Press. 1934.

Robotka, Frank,

Membership Problems and Relationships in Iowa Farmers' Elevators (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 321). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1934.

Ross, Earle Dudley,

The Agricultural Backgrounds and Attitudes of American Presidents (Social Forces, October, 1934).

Schmidt, G. Perle,

Ashes (Mason City Globe-Gazette, September 12, 1934).

Lost at Sea? (Washington Evening Star, February 6, 1934).

Lost at Sea? and *Airships* (poems). Privately printed. 1934.

Stoddard, George D., (Joint author)

Child Psychology. New York: Macmillan Company. 1934.

Suckow, Ruth,

The Folks. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1934.

Thoren, Theodore R.,

The Physical and Anti-Knock Properties of Gasoline Alcohol Blends (University of Iowa Studies in Engineering, Bulletin No. 4). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1934.

Wellman, Beth L., (Joint author)

Child Psychology. New York: Macmillan Company. 1934.

Westrate, Edwin Victor, (Joint author)

The Reign of Soapy Smith. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1934.

Williamson, Thames Ross,

D is for Dutch. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
1934.

Winston, Alvin,

The Throttle. Muscatine: Baker Sales Co. 1934.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Washington County Copperheads, by Stanley Dayton, in the
Washington Journal, August 4, 1934.

An election in Fayette County in 1856, in the *Oelwein Register*,
August 15, 1934.

Pioneer days described by E. M. Thompson, in the *Independence
Bulletin-Journal*, August 16, 1934.

Keokuk and Black Hawk in Iowa, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid
Register-News*, August 16, 1934.

Political events in Territorial Iowa, in the *Floyd County* (Nora
Springs) *Advertiser*, August 16, 23, 30, 1934.

Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church near Sigourney is ninety years
old, in the *Keokuk County* (Sigourney) *News*, August 16, 23,
1934.

Banner stone found near South Amana, in the *Marengo Pioneer-
Republican*, August 16, 1934.

The Mormons in Johnson County, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*,
August 17, 1934.

The history of Bell's Mill, by Fred C. Runkle, in the *Webster City
Freeman-Journal*, August 18, 1934.

Sketch of the life of S. V. Proudfit, in the *Charles City Press*,
August 17, 1934.

Brinton's airship, by Robert McFarlane, in the *Washington Jour-
nal*, August 18, 1934.

Newspaper experiences of Daniel K. Shaver, in the *Iowa City
Press-Citizen*, August 20, 1934.

Reminiscences by Wm. R. Stevens, ninety years of age, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, August 20, and the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, August 29, 1934.

The history of Brighton, from *Some Brighton Reminiscences*, by C. C. Heacock, in the *Washington Journal*, August 21, 22, 25, September 8, 1934.

State fairs show agricultural changes, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 22, 1934.

Sketch of the life of E. P. Healy, in the *Britt News-Tribune*, August 22, 1934.

Winterset Madisonian was pioneer newspaper, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, August 23, 1934.

First school in Harrison County was taught by Mrs. James Cummings, in 1849, in the *Harrison County (Logan) Herald*, August 23, 1934.

Views recall early history of Madison County, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, August 23, 1934.

Pioneer days in Estherville, by Eva O. Morrison, in the *Estherville Vindicator and Republican*, August 23, 30, 1934.

Summer in early Iowa as described by Samuel M. Clark, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, August 23, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Louis Gibeau, once an associate of Theophile Brughier, in the *Sioux City Tribune*, August 23, 1934.

Mrs. R. C. White has lived in Cedar Rapids since 1850, by Eliza Hickok, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 23, 1934.

Buffalo skeleton found at Little Wall Lake, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, August 24, 1934.

Did John F. Duncombe and John D. Maxwell wrestle to decide whether Fort Dodge or Homer should have the county seat?, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle*, August 25, the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, September 3, and the *Gowrie News*, October 25, 1934.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the Library at Madison on October 18, 1934.

The sixteenth annual Indiana History Conference was held at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 7 and 8, 1934.

Among the papers recently acquired by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are those of the former Governor and United States Senator, John J. Blaine. These will not, however, be open to public research for a number of years.

The Missouri Historical Society held a meeting at the Jefferson Memorial on October 26, 1934. The speaker was Mrs. Arthur H. Pfaff. Her subject, "Costumes and Customs of the American Indian", was illustrated by dolls dressed in tribal costumes and by Flaming Arrow, an Acoma Indian.

IOWA

J. C. Harvey of Seymour has instituted an effort to mark early day burial grounds in Appanoose County. Many early graves are said to be unmarked and unrecorded.

The Woodbury County Pioneer Club held a meeting at Sioux City on October 13, 1934. The speaker was Mrs. Ralph Henderson who gave a resumé of the early history of the community.

A monument to Father Pierre Jean De Smet, pioneer Jesuit missionary to the Pottawattamie Indians in what is now Pottawattamie County, was unveiled on October 12, 1934. It is located in Council Bluffs at the intersection of State Street and Broadway.

The Woodbury County Pioneer Club held a monthly meeting at Sioux City on August 23, 1934. Miss Rose O'Connor gave a talk on "Historical Beginnings of Woodbury County". F. B. Leitch gave the address at the meeting on September 22nd. His subject was "Pioneer Days".

On October 8, 1934, a tablet marking the site of the first public school building in Des Moines was unveiled. It stands at the corner of Ninth and Locust streets and was provided by the Abigail Adams Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The school was first occupied in 1858. The tablet was presented by Mrs. Erwin Schenk and accepted for the city by Mr. D. William Ash.

A marker for the site of the log cabin which once stood some five miles south of Danville, Iowa, was dedicated by the State Baptist Convention on October 20, 1934. In this log cabin the first Baptist Church in Iowa was organized on October 20, 1834. Two of the speakers at the Convention were Professor R. Holbrook and Dr. Coe Hayne. Dr. Hayne's subject was "In the Early Morning God Walked in Iowa".

Mrs. Mildred Pelzer (Mrs. Louis Pelzer) has prepared and published a map of Iowa which she calls "Iowa: Prairie Chronicles in Picture". Around the border are pictures portraying highlights of Iowa's history. The map itself presents numerous pictures representing persons, places, and events of historical significance. In securing historical data for the map Mrs. Pelzer was assisted by her husband, Dr. Louis Pelzer, and by members of the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The Wyoming Historical Society held its tenth annual meeting at Wyoming on August 25, 1934. W. B. Searcliff, superintendent of schools at Wyoming, gave a talk on "What a Historical Society Means to a School and How They Might be Connected" and Elsie Bender gave anecdotes of pioneer days. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Mrs. Jessie Koch; vice presidents, Mrs. Jennie Hulton, Mrs. J. W. Morse, and Miss Winifred Wherry; recording secretary, Miss Elsie Bender; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mae Peck; and treasurer, Miss Emma Alden.

The Iowa-Des Moines Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting at Burlington on September 18-23, 1934, celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church and the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Methodism in Iowa. On Tuesday, September 18th, a meet-

ing was held at Mt. Pleasant where a new marker for the grave of the Reverend John H. Ruble, first Methodist minister to marry, to die, and to be buried on Iowa soil. Dr. R. M. Shipman gave the principal address. An historical sketch, prepared by R. E. Harvey, was read by R. C. Buchanan. John H. Ruble came to Iowa in September, 1835, and died in the spring of 1836.

The *Des Moines Register*, the *Moville Mail*, and the *Clear Lake Reporter* are continuing the series on Iowa history, prepared by Hubert L. Moeller. Among the lessons in the series to date are: an Indian feast; Jean Marie Cardinal; French-Indian battle in Iowa; Indian opposition to Fort Madison; early Iowa visitors; and treaty councils in Iowa. These lessons appear each week. A similar series by John E. Briggs appears in other Iowa newspapers, including the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle*, the *Davenport Democrat*, the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, the *Muscatine Journal*, and the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*. Among the topics so far discussed are the following: exploring the wilderness; the expedition of De Noyelles; the Nicollet survey; French forest rovers in Iowa; and traders in the Iowa country.

The State Historical Society is in receipt of the following letter from Mr. C. J. Fulton concerning plank roads in Iowa. Because of the information it contains it is printed in full.

"Fairfield, Iowa

September 26, 1934

"Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh,
Iowa City, Iowa.

Dear Dr. Shambaugh:

"I have just read the current Palimpsest. The story of the plank roads as it relates to Jefferson County is incomplete and as it relates to the bridging of the river 'Chicauqua' is in error.

"The Mt. Pleasant, Deedsville and Brighton Plank Road and Bridge Company, granted right of way in February, 1851, built a bridge over Skunk River at Deedsville (Merrimac). It was sold by the sheriff in December, 1854, on an execution for debt. Some of its timbers were still standing a few years ago.

"The Fairfield and Mt. Pleasant Plank Road Company was incorporated on March 31, 1851. Samuel Jacobs of Fairfield was the surveyor. A bridge put under construction across Skunk River progressed slowly on account of shortage of funds. On March 11, 1853, Charles Negus, the president of the company, crossed it with horse and buggy and opened it to travel. It was a substantial structure a quarter of a mile long and so much of a curiosity that it attracted numerous visitors. Travelers went out of their way to see it. At its west end sprung up a settlement called Bridgewater. For a time receipts from tolls were \$50 a month.

"It was the irony of fate that just five days after this bridge was opened, that is, on March 16, 1853, the citizens of Jefferson County met in Fairfield to consider what they should do to promote the building of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad. Later in the year, by a vote of 1159 to 454, they authorized the county to purchase \$100,000 of stock. These activities and others to the same end presaged the death of the plank road movement.

Yours truly,

(Signed) C. J. Fulton"

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. John E. Briggs, editor of *The Palimpsest*, gave a talk to the Kiwanis Club of Iowa City on September 4, 1934. His subject was "Exploring the History of Iowa". Dr. Briggs is the author of the Iowa history lesson printed in various newspapers.

Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave an illustrated lecture on "Iowa Historic and Beautiful" before the county superintendents section of the State Teachers Association at Des Moines on November 2, 1934.

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society, was one of the speakers at the School of Citizenship, sponsored by the Des Moines League of Women Voters, on October 19, 1934. His subject was "The Challenge of Revolution".

"Revolutionary and Pre-Revolutionary Iowa" was the title of an address given by Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the

State Historical Society of Iowa, before a district conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution held at Iowa City on September 18, 1934.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Rev. W. J. Collins, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. W. F. Barr, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. G. W. Brown, Shenandoah, Iowa; Dr. Leslie K. Fenlon, Clinton, Iowa; Dr. Lafe H. Fritz, Dubuque, Iowa; Miss Melva Rae Gingerich, Kalona, Iowa; Mr. Harry H. Hagemann, Waverly, Iowa; Mr. Clair E. Hamilton, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Esther H. Hardy, Tabor, Iowa; Mr. Charles Arthur Hawley, Iowa City, Iowa; Dr. Geo. A. Hartley, Battle Creek, Iowa; Mr. Louis L. Hill, Postville, Iowa; Mr. Chester S. Johnson, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. W. M. McLaughlin, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Marjorie Medary, New York City; Rev. Paul T. Meyer, Hampton, Iowa; Mr. Clifford L. Niles, Anamosa, Iowa; Mr. R. D. Noble, McGregor, Iowa; Dr. Lester D. Powell, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. John L. Ryan, Vinton, Iowa; Mr. Joseph S. Schick, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Herman J. Schipfer, Sigourney, Iowa; Mr. A. H. Beyer, Dubuque, Iowa; Mrs. Clara E. Brown, Red Oak, Iowa; Mrs. Alex C. Burt, Mt. Harris, Colorado; Mr. Louis C. Iten, Clinton, Iowa; Mrs. Milo J. John, Clinton, Iowa; Mrs. A. Florence Joyce, Medford, Mass.; Mr. Carlyle Klise, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. Jane Wellman Leighton, Iowa City, Iowa; Dr. H. E. Martin, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Milton J. Moon, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. J. R. Neveln, Middle Amana, Iowa; Dr. W. L. Rantz, Andrew, Iowa; Mrs. Iowa Byington Reed, Iowa City, Iowa; and Mr. Walter K. Voss, Davenport, Iowa. The following persons were enrolled as Life Members: Mr. Jay J. Sherman, Detroit, Michigan, and Dr. L. L. Myers, Sheldon, Iowa.

The *Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa*, made by the Brookings Institution in 1933, includes the following comment (page 213) on the work of The State Historical Society of Iowa, under the direction of the Superintendent, Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh:

"In the number and scientific quality of its publications, as well as in their practical bearing on the political, economic, and social

problems of the state, the superintendent and staff of the Historical Society have demonstrated their capacity to render notable public service, and, with respect to the type of historical research which they have conducted, have been surpassed by no other institution in the country.

“The admirable work of the Historical Society has been done, not because of, but in spite of the cumbrous organization set up by law. Its success is to be attributed almost entirely to its relationship with the University and to the personal ability and ideals of the Society’s superintendent and editor who has been head of the political science department of the University.”

The following comment on the work done by The State Historical Society of Iowa under the direction of Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, the Superintendent, is contained in an article by Julian P. Boyd on *State and Local Historical Societies in the United States* in the October, 1934, number of *The American Historical Review*:

“The State Historical Society of Iowa, guided during the past four decades by Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, has research and publication as its dominant purpose; during this time it has employed some twenty-six trained persons to do research and has issued 720 publications totaling 75,111 pages! It is doubtful if the political and constitutional history of any other commonwealth has been so thoroughly documented. These publications range in character from documentary sources meant for the scholar to essays in a style that is popular in the best sense. The Iowa Applied History Series embraces under this interesting title a seven volume attempt to bring the light of history to bear upon the solution of current problems of legislation and administration. These volumes deal with such explosive questions as road legislation, regulation of utilities, workmen’s compensation, removal of public officials, law-making abuses, county government, and welfare work. Here history is raised to the dignity of a coördinate agency of government, assisting through historical scholarship to throw light upon vexing present day questions. James I might dissolve the Society of Antiquaries of London because of a fear of their peering too closely into the arcana of government, but here in a modern common-

wealth we find a legislature making liberal appropriations to enable scholars to investigate its most recent activities and to broadcast their findings among 190 libraries and hundreds of members. It was such a public function as this that led John Quincy Adams in 1844 to declare that historical societies were among the most useful of human institutions. If legislative control acts as a brake on absolute freedom of research under these auspices, the scientific method is nevertheless employed. Thomas Sprat could declare in 1667 that he 'never yet saw an Historian that was cleer from all Affections: that, it may be, were not so much to be called *Integrity*, as a Stoical *Insensibility*'; yet here in Iowa in 1933 'neither partisan bias nor personal prejudice is allowed to enter into the work of those who are engaged in research for the Society'."

NOTES AND COMMENT

A replica of a pioneer log cabin has been constructed in the city park at Magnolia to house community relics.

Luther College is planning a celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the institution in 1936.

The old settlers of Henry County held their annual reunion at Mt. Pleasant on September 27, 1934. R. S. Galer gave a talk on the early history of the locality.

The Harrison County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Magnolia on August 23, 1934. L. W. White of Woodbine was elected president of the organization.

The Boone County Fifty Year Club held its semi-annual meeting at Boone on August 16, 1934. J. R. Whitaker was named president of the club; John A. Hull was reëlected secretary. Jacob Hoffman, the oldest man born in Boone County, was made honorary president.

An expedition to study the Maquoketa River and secure pictures made a trip down the stream in canoes on August 11 and 12, 1934. Mr. Robert Bickel was the organizer and commander. The other members were Dr. Alfred W. Meyer, Professor George Waln, Dr. J. A. Swisher, Dr. Ben H. Peterson, Mr. Harold J. Brownlee, and Mr. John Palmer.

One of the wayside parks to be built in Iowa under the State Planning Board will be on a bluff on the south bank of the Chiquaqua River, eight miles south of Oskaloosa. The site commands a view of the former location of Kish-Ke-Kosh's village and the new Keomah Lake State Park. The top of the bluff was at one time used as an Indian burial ground.

The Johnson County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Iowa City on September 13, 1934. The principal ad-

dress was given by Mr. L. O. Leonard. Mayor Harry D. Breene was elected president of the association for the ensuing year; Mr. John Scheitz, vice president; Mr. O. A. Byington, secretary; and Mr. B. V. Bridenstine, treasurer.

The Black Hawk County Early Settlers' Association held its annual picnic at Hanna's Grove, between Cedar Falls and Waterloo, on August 25, 1934. An address by H. O. Bernbrock was part of the program. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Charles I. Munger, Cedar Heights, president; Fred Fisher, vice president; C. W. Bruner, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. C. W. Ellyson, assistant secretary.

The Pioneer Settlers Association of Scott County held its seventy-eighth annual reunion on August 29, 1934. Mrs. Anna F. Eldridge, Miss Grace Seaman, and Dr. Peter Donaldson gave talks on early history. Mrs. Eldridge was reelected president of the association; Miles Collins, son of a pioneer, was again made vice president; Dr. Donaldson was reelected secretary; and Mrs. Julia Stroehle was chosen treasurer.

A special congressional committee has recently decided to move the statue of James Harlan from the Hall of Statues to the Hall of Columns. The statue of Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood remains in the Hall of Statues. Each State was allowed to place the statues of two of its most famous men in the Hall of Statues, but the weight of so many on one floor was considered a menace to the building and it was decided to move some of them to the hall below.

Three former presidents of the State University of Iowa had a part in the inauguration of Eugene A. Gilmore as the thirteenth president of the institution on October 4, 1934. Chancellor John G. Bowman, President of the University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. Walter A. Jessup, now head of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, gave addresses, and an address by Dr. George E. MacLean was read by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, chairman of the inauguration committee.

Eight mural paintings in the lobby of the Jefferson Hotel at Iowa City were unveiled on September 15, 1934. The paintings are

the work of Mrs. Mildred Pelzer of Iowa City and portray the following episodes in the history of the city: Poweshiek on the Iowa; the pioneer covered wagon; selecting the capital site; building the capitol; the arrival of the stage coach; the steamboat; the coming of the railroad; and the first automobile. In the preparation of historical materials Mrs. Pelzer was assisted by her husband, Dr. Louis Pelzer. Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mrs. William Larrabee, Jr., and Mrs. Eugene Henely were speakers at the dinner which preceded the unveiling of the murals.

An elaborate program marked the dedication of the Black Hawk statue at Lake View, Iowa, on Labor Day, September 3, 1934. Music by the Odebolt high school band and an Indian program by Indians from the reservation at Tama were features of the program. "Why the Name Was Changed", by Malcolm Currie; "Talk on How the Statue Was Created", by the sculptor, Harry E. Stinson, of the State University of Iowa; "Black Hawk — Warrior and Statesman", by Dr. Bruce E. Mahan, of the Extension Division of the State University; and "Black Hawk's Orations", by Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, were among the addresses presented. A special feature was the presentation of Black Hawk's Autobiography to members of the committee who directed the statue project by William J. Petersen in behalf of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The statue was unveiled by the sculptor, Harry E. Stinson.

Because of the close association of the research and publication work done by the Political Science Department of the State University of Iowa and the State Historical Society of Iowa, readers of THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS will be interested in the following judgment in the Brookings *Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa* (page 598). This report was submitted in 1933 and is now in print.

"It is probable that no political science department in any other state university has served its constituency in a more comprehensive, persevering, and practical manner. In addition to the doing of practical and scholarly work, an attempt has been made by the Political Science Department to give the results of its studies wide

circulation. Separate reprints have been made of particular chapters; studies of county offices have been printed in pamphlet form and sent to county officers; unpublished theses have been loaned to state officials. All of these, it is understood, have had a cordial reception. It is also understood that the program of research which was under consideration some years ago by the University contemplated the co-operation of the various state associations of county officers, the League of Iowa Municipalities, and various other organizations."

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY, Professor in the School of Religion, State University of Iowa. Born at Verona, New York, on December 3, 1889. A. B., Hamilton College; S. T. M., Union Theological Seminary; Ph. D., Columbia University. Graduate study at University of Halle, Wittenberg, Germany, also at University of Göttingen; University of Basel, Switzerland; American School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, Palestine. Professor Biblical Literature, Springfield College; Mount Holyoke College; Professor University of Iowa since 1927. Author of: *Peshitta Version of Ezra*; *Teaching of the Prophets*; *Teaching of Apocrypha and Apocalypse*; *Teaching of Old Testament History*. Contributed sections to *Religion in Higher Education*; *The Church Looks Ahead*, and many articles in religious journals. Member various learned societies.

HERBERT J. WUNDERLICH. Born at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, May 9, 1906. Received the B. A. degree from the University of Idaho in 1928 and the M. A. degree from Harvard University in 1934. Elected to Phi Beta Kappa and Delta Sigma Rho in 1927. Teacher in Coeur d'Alene High School, 1928-1930. Engaged in research in Widener Library at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1932-1934. Now employed by the National Broadcasting Company.

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APRIL NINETEEN HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE

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WILLIAM SALTER AND THE SLAVERY
CONTROVERSY
1837-1864

New York, from upper Broadway to the Battery, was hung with colored bunting and festive crape, despite ominous warnings in Wall Street counting houses, on Wednesday, March 15, 1837. Citizens crowded close to glimpse a barouche carrying Daniel Webster to the American House, where he was to rest after a tedious journey from Philadelphia to Perth Amboy on the newly constructed Camden and Amboy Railway and from Perth Amboy to New York on a specially chartered boat. In the evening, surrounded by bright flares, Mr. Webster told almost five thousand persons gathered in Niblo's Saloon that he opposed bringing Texas, a slave-holding country, into the Union. Amid rattling applause, he declared the issue of negro slavery must be considered according to the consciences of right-thinking men. A sixteen-year-old boy heard Webster's dignified, yet impassioned, speech and doubtless joined in round after round of applause.

This lad was William Salter, born on November 17, 1821, near the seashore in old Brooklyn. His father was William Frost Salter, a shipowner and trader, who had recently lost a fortune in a trading expedition of the good ship *Mary and Harriet*, bound from New Orleans to Calais, France. William Frost Salter was descended from John Salter, a mariner who arrived in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from Devonshire, England, some time in the latter part of the seventeenth century. William Salter's mother was Mary Ewen Salter, a daughter of Alexander Ewen, a

prominent Portsmouth importer, who had emigrated from Aberdeen, Scotland, prior to the Revolutionary War.

Both parents agreed that William should be trained in the Old School Presbyterian tenets and educated in the best schools of New York. The boy was compelled to attend Sunday School and church services and much of his early religious inspiration was derived from the sermons of the Reverend Samuel H. Cox, pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church. Here in the family pew he sat with his parents and sisters and brothers for many long hours. When older, he heard Dr. William H. Channing preach and listened also to the evangelist, Charles G. Finney.

At ten years of age, William was put to the study of Latin and at the age of twelve he began to learn Greek. Six years later he was studying Hebrew and Arabic. Some of this training he received in S. Johnston's Classical and English School, where he won many certificates of merit. At one time he thought of studying law, and frequented the courts of New York City where he listened attentively to the great lawyers of his time — David B. Ogden, Josiah Hoffman, Daniel Low, and Prescott Hall — but he first heard a serious slavery discussion by a great statesman that evening in Niblo's Saloon when Philip Hone and other dignitaries introduced Mr. Webster.

At that time, Salter was a student at the University of the City of New York. He was so moved by Webster's oratory that he made frequent allusions to slavery in subsequent rather grandiloquent addresses before the Philomethian Literary Society, a group of lively young men who gathered fortnightly for exercise in debating, oratory, and composition.

Salter, on one occasion, presented a paper on *A Few Thoughts on Republicanism with a Word on Monarchy* and told the assembled debaters that "God is no respecter of

persons and why should we set upon arbitrary distinction among children of one common household.”¹ Freedom, he continued, is natural and must spread until despotism’s towers are overthrown. Later, as students at Andover Theological Seminary, William Salter and Edwin B. Turner, in the quiet of the library, spoke occasionally of the southern agricultural system as dominated by human servitude. Neither Salter nor Turner then knew that they were to go West, under commissions from the American Home Missionary Society, there to watch, with careful New England eyes, the slavery controversy flame into rebellion.

With the Iowa Band, William Salter came to Iowa in 1843, and at Farmington, within the first week after his arrival, he saw slaves from Missouri bringing grain for milling.² His first charge was Maquoketa, but in 1846 he was called to Burlington where he remained until his death in 1910. As Preacher Salter, for such was he called, rode through Iowa, he talked about slavery with settlers and immigrants, attempting to gauge the frontier’s attitude. In Iowa City, for example, he found a young Scotchman, an “intelligent, warm-hearted, anti-slavery” tailor with whom he became acquainted.³ On October 8, 1844, he addressed the first annual meeting of the Iowa Anti-Slavery Society at Washington where two Salem Quakers, Aaron Street, Jr., and Wm. Lewelling, pledged themselves to oppose the extension of slavery.⁴

Only a few days before this, Mr. Salter had heard his colleagues, assembled in general session at Brighton, de-

¹ See Jordan’s *William Salter — Philomethian* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVIII, p. 299.

² Salter’s *My Ministry in Iowa*, a manuscript record of the early years in Maquoketa and vicinity. Under date of October 26, 1843, he wrote: “To the mill at Farmington slaves come from 30 to 40 miles South in Missouri.”

³ Salter’s *My Ministry in Iowa*, under date of October 15, 1844.

⁴ Salter’s *My Ministry in Iowa*, under date of October 15, 1844.

bate the question whether church fellowship should be withdrawn from slaveholders. The same problem was being earnestly discussed by officials of the American Home Missionary Society and, despite the protests of extreme anti-slavery advocates, was terminated, for the time being, when the Society declared itself ready to offer financial assistance to churches regardless of their slavery views. With this decision Mr. Salter was then in accord. In June, 1856, however, the General Congregational Association of Iowa, meeting in Grinnell, reversed its former decision, and reported that "the time has come when the American Home Missionary Society should no longer grant aid to any church which allows the practice of slave holding by its members."⁵

Not only were Mr. Salter's views upon slavery conditioned by his conversations with Iowa settlers during the saddle years of his ministry; they were also influenced by the attitude of his father-in-law, Eliab P. Mackintire,⁶ of Boston, and by the opinions of his older brother, Benjamin Salter, then a dry-goods commission merchant of New York. Both these men held anti-slavery — although not abolitionist — views, and their well-balanced sentiments, expressed in long series of letters, undoubtedly did much to mellow Mr. Salter's youthful tendency to take an extreme view.

Mr. Mackintire, in particular, did much to mature and shape the opinions of his son-in-law. A canny, honest New Englander, descended from a family settling in Reading, Massachusetts, about 1651, Mackintire had inherited an aristocratic rationalism. He easily conceived human nature

⁵ Letter from William Salter to the American Home Missionary Society, dated Burlington, Iowa, September, 1856.

⁶ See Jordan's *Letters of Eliab Parker Mackintire, of Boston, 1845-1863, To the Reverend William Salter, of Burlington, Iowa*, in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, July-December, 1934, Vol. XXXVIII.

as evil, had a decided bent to the ethical, and manifested during his entire life a Calvinistic thrift. For him religion and education were the dominant features — capped, of course, by a successful commercial career — of the well-rounded social life. Such was the background of the man whose opinions Mr. Salter took seriously, and to whom he frequently wrote for an interpretation of perplexing problems.

Mr. Mackintire held the opinion that slavery in a State should not be interfered with but, on February 22, 1856, he wrote to Anthony S. Morss, President of the Bunker Hill Republican Association: "I would resist to the death the extension of the institution over a foot of territory now free, the annexation of any new slave territory, or the addition of any new Slave States to the Union."

On subsequent occasions Mr. Mackintire sent sound advice to the young minister whose Burlington congregation included men who were not opposed to the extension of slavery; for Burlington, be it remembered, had many elements of southern society. "If", Mr. Mackintire wrote in 1847, "instead of organizing voluntary associations to attract the South and throwing a cudgel at every slave-holder we can find, and shaking our fist in the face of everybody who does not see things as we do — we of the free states would just make our own *laws* free and equal, and employ our wisdom and patriotism in devising some *practical* way by which the evil could be removed, we might perhaps do more good."

This sound philosophy was substantiated by the opinion of Benjamin Salter who, although not the student Mr. Mackintire was, nevertheless possessed good business

⁷ *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. XXXVIII, July, 1934, p. 527.

⁸ *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. XXXVIII, August, 1934, p. 640.

sense and believed that discretion did a minister no harm. It was his opinion that slavery, if left to work out its own development, would eventually either be confined to the southern States, or be cast aside as an unprofitable venture. As early as November 30, 1844, he wrote, "I have great faith, and more hopes than fears, that in due time, the evil of slavery will be removed."⁹

However moderate these gentlemen were in their attitude toward slavery, they were bitterly opposed to the Mexican War. They called it a conflict for annexation, heaped fire upon President Polk, and denied that the several States should furnish arms and men. Benjamin Salter looked on the war as unjust and thought the slavery advocates were responsible for it.¹⁰ On January 19, 1848, Mr. Mackintire wrote: "Our rulers seem bent upon the conquest of Mexico, Cortes-like. . . . The fact is, the people are becoming infatuated with military glory, and even with those who condemn the war, the *army* is popular. And grave senators are taking the ground openly that if the people desire the whole of Mexico, it is as vain to try to prevent it as to stop the Niagara. And if the President can get a standing army sufficient to conquer, or to hold Mexico, it will give him a patronage and power that the people may try in vain to overthrow or resist."¹¹

As he learned the ways of Burlington Congregationalism, Mr. Salter was displeased to find his parish enthusiastic in the support of the President's aggressive policy. By June of 1846, Burlington had raised two companies, and its unpaved streets felt the tramp of rookie feet, guided by sharp

⁹ Letter from Benjamin Salter to William Salter, dated New York, November 30, 1844.

¹⁰ Letter from Benjamin Salter to William Salter, dated New York, November 13, 1846.

¹¹ *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. XXXVIII, September, 1934, p. 721.

orders from officers of the regular army. Whiskey from the generous hands of recruiting sergeants fired the patriotism of many a farmer boy, bringing him, quite befuddled, into his country's service. So well did one yokel avail himself of army spirits that he died of delirium tremens soon after enlistment. His coffin, covered with a dirty flag, was carried to the burying-ground, to the music of a fife and drum, and interred with full military honors.¹²

Despite the efforts of recruiting officers, Manifest Destiny might have been halted at the frontier line of 1840 if Mr. Salter's pulpit oratory had taken the field. He wrote to his fiancée, Mary Ann Mackintire, on May 25, 1846: "Instead of preaching on the evil of war, I shall discourse, I believe, on the blessing of peace from I Kings 5:4, as there is too much of a war spirit here, as in the West generally. I may avoid perhaps giving offense [and] secure the same object by telling what a good thing peace is".¹³ He accordingly preached on the blessings of peace, showing that an absence of war stimulated westward migration, increased the nation's commerce, added to the number of inventions recorded at the patent office, favored the development of the arts, education, and manners, and promoted benevolent enterprises among men.

Despite his desire to avoid offense, he did not resist the temptation to strike at the war spirit then so enthusiastically manifested in Burlington. "It is the settled conviction of nearly all minds", he said, "that we must never engage in aggressive wars. Any one who should propose wars for conquest like those of the Roman emperors, or those of Napoleon, or those of the British in India would be condemned at once, and his name cast out as evil. A standing army of any kind can hardly be endured. It is

¹² Letter from William Salter to the American Home Missionary Society, dated Burlington, Iowa, October 12, 1847.

¹³ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIX, p. 459.

with extreme difficulty that an annual appropriation of ten or twelve millions of dollars can be obtained from Congress for the support of the army and navy under what is singularly called a *peace* establishment. The Military Academy has long ceased to be a popular institution. Military training which was once the glory of our country villages has become a byword and a reproach."¹⁴

Despite this diatribe against war, peace was not to come until General Scott had captured Vera Cruz and entered the City of Mexico, and the insatiable American appetite for westward expansion had been temporarily appeased by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on February 2, 1848. Mexico then agreed to consider the Rio Grande as the international boundary and ceded to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California, in all an area of nearly 522,955 square miles, receiving in consideration the nominal sum of fifteen millions of dollars.

Mr. Salter's chagrin was great, but he had little time to mourn what he considered the loss of national "dignity". The slavery controversy was rapidly increasing in importance; rebellion was daily coming closer. Although the Fugitive Slave Law was often disobeyed, Mr. Mackintire advocated patience and cautioned Mr. Salter not to make too active demonstrations against it.

In 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared. It was published in Boston by a Mr. Rockwood, a friend of the Mackintires, who said that ten thousand copies were ordered by April first and that four presses and one hundred binders were employed to meet the demand. This two-volume blow to slavery, having been read by Mr. Mackintire, was sent to Burlington where Mr. and Mrs. Salter took turns reading

¹⁴ Manuscript sermon, delivered at Burlington on May 31, Maquoketa on June 8, and at Chicago on July 13, 1846, from the text I Kings 5:4 — "But now the Lord my God hath given me rest on every side, so that there is neither adversary nor evil occurrent."

it, and then loaned it to friends. As a result many Burlingtonians realized that Harriet Beecher Stowe had struck, as Mr. Mackintire wrote, "the hardest blow at slavery as it exists in this country it has ever received".¹⁵ A year later the Rockwood press published Mrs. Stowe's *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and this, too, came to Burlington. In addition to these works, Mr. Salter's views on slavery were influenced by the magazines and newspapers which came to his home. Among these were *De Bow's Review*, the *North American Review*, the *Biblical Sacra and Theological Review*, and the *New York Observer*.

In the fall of 1856, Mr. Salter agreed with Mr. Mackintire that slavery could be destroyed only by one of three methods which the two men had worked out in a lengthy correspondence. The first, indicative of what actually was to take place, was by bloodshed and violence. The second was by political action, a means which Mr. Mackintire, having small respect for politicians, was doubtful of. The third method was by the awakened conscience of the slaveholders themselves, a possibility which Mr. Salter, familiar with the chauvinistic and egocentric South and West, despaired of. Three years later Mr. Salter, after much troubled reflection, brought his thoughts together in a sermon entitled "Slavery and the Lessons of Recent Events", which he delivered on Sunday, December 4, 1859.¹⁶ Until the beginning of the Civil War, this sermon expressed the results of his study of slavery which had begun twenty-two years earlier when he heard Webster in Niblo's Saloon.

Taking his text from Romans 3:29,¹⁷ Mr. Salter began

¹⁵ *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. XXXVIII, October, 1934, p. 843.

¹⁶ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, April 1, 1900.

¹⁷ "Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also."

by saying there is no reason why all men should not live together in peace and love while earnestly attempting to do one another good. God, he said, is no respecter of persons, or nations, or races. "Why then", he asked, "should a system, which is simply a repudiation of all these principles, which bear in every part the lineaments of anti-Christ, still exist, and exist too in swelling power in our country?" The immense profit of slave labor was his explanation of the southern insistence upon a system "contrary to Divine Will and to the principles laid down by the nation's founders".

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise prohibiting slavery in the territory east of the Rocky Mountains and north of 36° 30', and the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court in 1856, which virtually opened all territory to the slave owner, were also cited as reasons for the growth of slavery.

To meet the problem, Mr. Salter made four suggestions to his congregation. First, the slavery question should be calmly, wisely, and thoroughly discussed in the spirit of Christian love in order to forestall rash and inconsiderate action. Second, the Christian church should extend no aid to slavery. Third, the slavery problem should be remembered in prayer frequently, for "one of the avowed objects of the gospel is to undo the heavy burdens, and proclaim liberty to the captive". And fourth, "As citizens of the United States we ought to give our whole influence against slavery." The honest acceptance of these suggestions, he concluded, should result in a happy solution of the problem. "Finally", he said, "let the slaves be treated as men — give them their homes, and let the husband belong to his wife, and the wife to her husband, until death shall part them, and let the child honor his father and his mother

— give them the reward of their industry — and the angry cloud that now threatens the land shall be dispelled forever.” He advocated the “immediate commencement of the work of emancipation”.

This sermon produced a sensation among the congregation. Men and women doubtless gathered in the vestry after the service to discuss it, and to compliment the pastor when he appeared, for the southern element in Burlington society which Mr. Salter found when he went there in 1846 had largely disappeared, and in its place a sharp anti-slavery sentiment had developed. On the following Thursday, a committee of ten forwarded to Mr. Salter a note saying that the signers had listened with pleasure to Sunday’s sermon and asked that he permit them to publish it in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*. Among the names signed were those of John G. Foote, Thomas Hedge, Charles Dunham, Wm. Smyth, and Luke Palmer. The “Slavery Sermon”, as it came to be known, was published then, and forty years later, while Mr. Salter was still living, it was reprinted in the *Hawk-Eye*.

A month before Fort Sumter was fired upon, Mr. Salter, foreseeing coming events, again spoke to his people on the question of slavery, but on this occasion he shifted the emphasis from slavery itself to that of rebellion against the nation.¹⁸ For more than twenty years, he said, the sentiment had been growing among southerners that slavery was a righteous and proper institution and that its preservation and extension was a high and paramount national duty. He cautioned his congregation against permitting any section of the Union to rebel against established authority in order to perpetuate “a blot upon our

¹⁸ A sermon delivered in Burlington on March 3, 1861. The text was from Ezekiel 2:8 — “But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee; be thou not rebellious like that rebellious house: open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee.”

civil and religious order". He concluded by saying, "The work to which God calls us is to contribute whatever influence we can command to the cause of Emancipation." This was the first of a series of nine public addresses, preserved in manuscript, which he gave between 1861 and 1865.

By July, 1861, Burlington was listening to the raillery and banter of recruiting officers, much as it had in 1846, and spots of blue mingled with the drab dress of farmers coming to the county seat to hear the latest war dispatches. On Sunday, July 28th, Mr. Salter, recognizing the mounting muster rolls, preached on "The Duty of the Soldier".¹⁹ The first duty of the soldier, he said, is to see that his cause is just, for the warrior, in the language of the Apostle, is "the minister of God, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." The army, apparently, occupied a higher place in Mr. Salter's opinion than it had in 1846. Slavery, he asserted, was a monstrous crime whose supporters were assaulting American institutions.

Believing that the result of civil war would be either the overthrow of the nation or the inauguration of a system of emancipation, Mr. Salter devoted much time to activities connected with the conflict. His correspondence with Mr. Mackintire and his brother, Benjamin Salter, was stimulated anew as war news increased. Both these men supported President Lincoln's war policies. "I think the government and Lincoln are too slow," Benjamin Salter wrote, "but I believe they are powerless and it is necessary to be very conservative, for we must not have a divided North."²⁰

Among Mr. Salter's activities was the surreptitious and

¹⁹ A sermon preached at Burlington on July 28, 1861, on the text from Deuteronomy 23:9 — "When the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing."

²⁰ Letter from Benjamin Salter to William Salter, dated Paterson, New Jersey, March 10, 1862.

illegal assistance rendered fugitive slaves. Such help, although bitterly resented by the South, frequently was afforded escaping servants by prominent northerners who justified their acts on humanitarian, rather than legal, grounds. Many negroes, fleeing from Missouri masters, cautiously penetrated Iowa by way of Denmark. Here the Reverend W. H. Hicks received them, only to pass them along to Burlington where they often found refuge in Mr. Salter's home. On July 18, 1861, Mr. Hicks wrote that a colored Baptist minister, an escaped slave of Doctor Wayland of Francesville, Missouri, was hiding in Burlington. As Doctor Wayland was offering a reward of half the slave's price in the current market, Mr. Hicks implored Mr. Salter to find the negro and assist him to reach Canada. "Do not trust anyone", he wrote, "not even this brother, that I am the sender of this information, as I am still in that section where he is from, and should it be known that I have sent warning it might prove dangerous to me."²¹

On October 28, 1861, a note, left under Mr. Salter's door, warned him to expect "three contrabands" from Doctor Curtis Shedd about three or four o'clock the following morning.²² From Burlington, Mr. Salter's refugees might be spirited north through Mt. Pleasant, Crawfordsville, Washington, Davenport, and DeWitt, a route commonly used, or, crossing the Mississippi, might follow the Illinois route to one of several ports on Lake Michigan.²³

²¹ Letter from W. H. Hicks to William Salter, dated Denmark, July 18, 1861.

²² Letter from P. B. Bell to William Salter, dated Burlington, October 28, 1861. The author is indebted to Mr. E. R. Harlan and Miss Halla Rhode, of the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines, who generously sent these letters for his examination.

²³ Although Wilbur H. Siebert lists 116 Iowa operators of Underground stations, residing in seventeen counties, he names none for Des Moines County. — Siebert's *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898), pp. 409-411.

As the year 1862 came to a close, detachments of the Twenty-fifth Iowa left Burlington for Memphis, Tennessee. This regiment contained many boys whom Mr. Salter knew personally. Among these was Allen Lockwood, eighteen-year-old admirer of Mary, Mr. Salter's oldest daughter, then a student at Denmark Academy. Lockwood's letters, written from bivouac and camp, brought something of the realities of war to the Salter family, and might well have drawn Mr. Salter's thoughts to the work of the United States Christian Commission which, by the winter of 1862, had completed its organization and had delegates in the field.

In the summer of 1864, encouraged by reports of friends who had served in the Christian Commission and wishing to see the Army of the United States in action, Mr. Salter and his friend, the Reverend J. W. Pickett, of Mt. Pleasant, made application for commissions as field delegates to the Army of the Cumberland. Eighteen years earlier, writing from Maquoketa, his first Iowa parish, Mr. Salter had been shocked by the news that a St. Louis Presbyterian minister had preached to a regiment soon to leave for the Mexican War. Now he himself was planning not only to preach to soldiers, but also to follow them to the field.²⁴

The work of the United States Christian Commission, together with services rendered soldiers by the United States Sanitary Commission, was well-known in Iowa.²⁵ The primary purpose of the Christian Commission was to bring religious influences to the army in action, although the Commission also ministered to the physical comfort of soldiers, furnishing them with reading matter, medical

²⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIX, p. 460.

²⁵ See Fullbrook's *Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, pp. 155-274; Moss's "Christian Commission" in *The Nation*, Vol. VI, pp. 214, 215; and an article by M. L. Stoever in the *Evangelical Review*, Vol. XVI, p. 258.

supplies, clothing, and items of diet. In the four years of the Commission's service, 4859 delegates were commissioned, serving an aggregate of 181,562 days. Over 95,000 boxes of stores and publications were distributed, not including 1,466,748 Bibles, Testaments, and portions of the Scriptures. Union soldiers received 8,308,052 knapsack books, little volumes designed for the soldier's reading, as well as providing space for notes and remarks. Delegates preached a total of 58,308 sermons, and conducted 77,744 prayer meetings. They wrote 92,321 letters home for sick or wounded men, a service considered by the Christian Commission as one of its most useful functions.²⁶ The total expenditure for the period 1862-1864 was \$6,291,107.68.²⁷

Some 2217 delegates were commissioned in 1864, the year Mr. Salter received his commission. They were divided into three classes—to the field, to hospitals, and to battlegrounds. In practice, however, their functions frequently overlapped. The average term of service was six weeks, and delegates served without pay.

Mr. Salter was named a delegate to the field; and, shortly after his commission arrived, he received a small black book, entitled "U. S. Christian Commission", which not only set forth the duties of the delegates, but also provided space for a running diary, as well as ruled spaces for the names of sick or wounded soldiers, their regiments, homes, and relatives, and general remarks.

The instructions read as follows:

The work of the U. S. Christian Commission to the field comprises, besides the religious services, &c., at the stations, the supply of field hospitals with such clothing, bedding, and stores as their necessities require; the distribution of stores and publications to all

²⁶ Moss's *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (1868), p. 292, Table VI.

²⁷ Moss's *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (1868), p. 293, Table VII.

in the camps, officers and men; personal individual intercourse with them, to instruct, cheer, and win them to Christ, or to stir them up to greater faith and zeal and activity for Christ; aiding and encouraging constant correspondence with their friends, by giving them paper and envelopes, or if need be, writing for them and mailing their letters, and forwarding for them packages to their homes; securing the organization of Religious Societies, where practicable; encouraging meetings for prayer; aiding chaplains in their public services, and seeking opportunity to address regiments publicly and collectively; addressing them, as delegates of the Commission and as ambassadors for Jesus; and doing whatever else good common sense and warm Christian sympathy and true patriotism may dictate for the temporal and spiritual benefit of the men in the field.²⁸

These instructions also carried suggestions as to the type of sermon which soldiers liked to hear. Delegates were told to be always brief, kind, tender, earnest, and affectionate, and never dull, dry, or abstract, for soldiers, "like powder . . . are easily fired by the living spark, yet they cannot be moved by all the dead ashes and coals that can be heaped upon them."²⁹

If necessary, delegates were to assist surgeons in hospitals and on battlefields, doing everything possible to mitigate suffering and aid recovery, to comfort dying men, and to give the dead decent Christian burial. "In short", Mr. Salter read in the manual, they were to strive "to do all that man can do to meet the wants of brethren far from home and kindred."³⁰

Although at least one critic has declared that the work of the Christian Commission was somewhat disappointing,³¹ the organization, nevertheless, performed a most

²⁸ *United States Christian Commission Manual*, p. 9.

²⁹ *United States Christian Commission Manual*, p. 10.

³⁰ *United States Christian Commission Manual*, p. 7.

³¹ Shannon's *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army*, Vol. I, pp. 228, 229.

useful function in the armies, and justified the statement: "it aids the surgeon, helps the chaplain, follows the army in its marches, goes into the trenches, courses along the picket-line, and ministers personally to the suffering and distressed. Its influence is felt wherever the dying, the wounded, the sick, and the afflicted are to be found. It furnishes clothing to the destitute, nutritious food to the sick, books for military hospitals, posts, and gunboats, a supply of paper, envelopes, ink, pens, pencils, and a thousand and one comforts which are gratefully received by the soldier, and which the Government can not provide."³²

While Mr. Salter was preparing to go to the front, he was completing a small book solicited by the American Reform Tract and Book Society for inclusion in its series of pamphlets relating to slavery and the war. These volumes, usually well-written, although with a decided intolerance, were priced from five to sixty cents and played a tremendous part in influencing children and adults. The titles of some of them suggest their contents: *God Against Slavery*; *Evidence on the Slave Trade*; *A Home in the South*; *Child's Book on Slavery*; *The Future of the Freed People*; and *Walter Browning; or, The Slave's Protector*. Although thousands of these tracts, some bound in boards and others in paper, were distributed in the South as well as the North, they are today sufficiently rare to delight the collector of Civil War juvenilia.

Mr. Salter's contribution, as might be expected, was more serious than most of the titles listed, although written so that young people could easily read and understand it. *The Great Rebellion in the Light of Christianity*³³ was

³² Appleton's *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events*, 1864, p. 802.

³³ *The / Great Rebellion / in the / Light of Christianity / By William Salter. / Cincinnati: / American Reform Tract and Book Society, / No. 28 West Fourth Street. / 1864.*

the title given to his booklet of sixty-three pages. "The study of history", wrote Mr. Salter in his first chapter, "is intrinsically more important and instructive than that of any branch of natural science",³⁴ and it was from the historical point of view that the book was written.

Although strongly anti-slavery, the work was marked in general by careful attention to historical detail. Some passages were harsh and ungenerous as, for example, "Slaveholders . . . confess themselves in sympathy with the most corrupt forms of aristocracy and despotism. They are at war with the humane and liberal tendencies of modern civilization. . . . The profligate and the vile, whether in high places or in low, are everywhere its abettors."³⁵ Maintaining that suppression of slavery was a Christian duty, Mr. Salter predicted a new life for America when

"The mower moves on, though the adder may writhe,
And the copperheads curl round the blade of the scythe."

The eleventh chapter dealt with the South's future, a future, which did not foresee the horrors of carpet-bag reconstruction governments. With slavery abolished and rebellion put down, the southern States were, according to Mr. Salter, to take their rightful place within the nation.

Instead of a few proud landlords of overgrown estates, there will be an immense number of small and independent proprietors. The industry of the country will be diversified, and the mechanical arts will flourish. Our Southern States have the climate of Southern Europe, and will furnish the markets of the world, not only with cotton and tobacco, but also with wine and fruits and silk and other productions which now come from Malaga, Marseilles, and Smyrna. Thoroughly civilized, and animated with the spirit of

³⁴ *The Great Rebellion in the Light of Christianity*, p. 7.

³⁵ *The Great Rebellion in the Light of Christianity*, p. 26.

modern enterprise, the South will become a larger producer and a larger consumer. She will have more to sell, and more to buy. She will attract emigration from the North, and from foreign countries. The infamous trade between the States at an end, a nobler and richer commerce will take its place. No longer a slave-breeding State, Virginia may become again mother of statesmen and presidents, and the free spirit of her mountains dwell once more in the bosoms of her people.³⁶

It is indeed unfortunate that reconstruction could not have followed this idyllic prophecy.

While he was at work upon his book, Mr. Salter received word from the field agent of the Department of the Cumberland that his services were needed. He and Mr. Pickett were directed to proceed at once to Chicago, and then to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, by way of Nashville. Although not pleased with this preëmtory summons, they left Burlington on the Fourth of July.³⁷

At Murfreesboro, five days later, Salter found the Christian Commission station dirty, the food poor, and the table knives "looking as if they had not been scoured for a month."³⁸ Here began his work of ministering to the troops. Loading his haversack with newspapers, tracts, Testaments, writing-paper, and envelopes, he went among the sick and wounded men in adjacent hospitals. Salter complained, with that lack of humor so characteristic of him, that literature given soldiers was frequently dull and often unsuitable. He complained that he was forced to distribute to soldiers pamphlets on the "condition and duties of women."³⁹

From Murfreesboro he was ordered to Stevenson, a

³⁶ *The Great Rebellion in the Light of Christianity*, pp. 52, 53.

³⁷ William Salter's *Civil War Diary*. Original in possession of the author.

³⁸ Letter from William Salter to Benjamin Salter, dated Murfreesboro, July 9, 1864.

³⁹ Salter's *Civil War Diary*.

small Alabama town crowded with soldiers and tools of war. In the streets all was confusion. Ponderous army wagons, mule-drawn ambulances, rumbling caissons, troops of blue cavalry; ragged rebels under guard; swearing teamsters; scurrying negro servants; important staff officers and orderlies; and knots of laughing soldiers, all jammed the dusty Stevenson thoroughfares with bustling, official, military life. Salter saw squads with bristling bayonets marching to relieve weary comrades. "Woods, roads, fields, far and near", described Pickett's pen, "are full of soldiers, halted and preparing breakfast; muskets stacked, little fires built to prepare coffee and fry meat, each soldier carrying his little iron coffeepot and spider. The rail fences were soon used up, and soldiers busy eating pork and hard-tack."⁴⁰

At Chattanooga, Salter found nine hundred patients in the General Field Hospital and one evening, on the banks of the Tennessee River, a group of convalescent soldiers heard him preach. "The moon shone brightly; Lookout Mountain raised its bald head above us; off in the distance was Mission Ridge; the river flowed peacefully at our feet. In the rich and varied landscape, surrounded by these stirring historical localities, our hearts went up with joy and gratitude to God, and we consecrated the soil beneath our feet and the grand scenes around us, and our whole country to the sacred cause of Liberty and Union, for which the defenders of the nation were laying down their lives."⁴¹

He traveled in army ambulances and on troop trains. At Nashville, he was introduced to Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, of Keokuk, and they met frequently thereafter. Mrs. Wittenmyer, active in the Sanitary Commission, was re-

⁴⁰ Salter's *Memoirs of Joseph W. Pickett*, p. 29.

⁴¹ Salter's *Sixty Years*, p. 306.

sponsible for the organization and administration of special diet kitchens throughout the army. "Many a soldier", Mr. Salter wrote years later, "ascribed his convalescence to the wholesome food he got from her diet kitchens."⁴²

On July 19th, he was ordered to the front, and left immediately for Marietta, Georgia, a town of pretty homes surrounded by shrubbery and great oaks. The Georgia Military Institute, training ground for many Confederate soldiers, had been turned into a Union hospital and here Mr. Salter held services.⁴³

As the determined Union army moved toward Atlanta, Mr. Salter followed and for ten days watched Blue troops slowly cutting off the city from all assistance. On July 26th, Pickett and Salter for the first time found themselves under fire. They were crossing a field in search of a hospital corps known to be located nearby. A surgeon, seeing their difficulty, dismounted, packed their haversacks and blankets upon his horse, and guided them across a pasture exposed to enemy shells. "A shell from a rebel battery burst in the air above us," recorded Salter's companion, "left a little white cloud of smoke, and passed away. The sharpshooters were but a little beyond. As we passed on, one was brought along on a stretcher, wounded. You cannot imagine what strange exhilaration I felt in the excitement of a little danger — the novelty, the booming cannon, the soldiers around us; some firing at long intervals; one reading a history of America, lying behind the breastworks."⁴⁴

Two days later Iowa troops sustained severe losses defending their position before Atlanta against a determined Confederate advance. After the engagement General John

⁴² Salter's *Sixty Years*, p. 305.

⁴³ Salter's *Civil War Diary*.

⁴⁴ Salter's *Memoirs of Joseph W. Pickett*, p. 29.

M. Corse, commanding the Second Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps, took Salter on an inspection tour.⁴⁵

Early in August, a government wagon, drawn by six mules of Stoneman's cavalry, jolted Mr. Salter back to Marietta, the first step on his return journey. Excitement, caused by battlefield scenes, the stifling heat, and the poisonous odors had all impaired his health. He could retain only a little whiskey dusted with nutmeg. In the pleasant Christian Commission station at Marietta, he rested a few days and then proceeded to Nashville where he was photographed.⁴⁶ At Louisville, he preached on the forecastle of the gunboat *Victory No. 33*, and then hurried on to Chicago. When he arrived in Burlington on August 17th, he was broken in health. "Laus Deo", he wrote in his diary soon after entering his long-desired study.

Temperamentally, Salter was unfitted for life among soldiers. His lack of humor, aggravated by poor health, and his preference for the quiet of his library made it difficult for him to meet men of action on equal terms.

Before the weary pastor had overcome the discouragement and illness occasioned by his war service, a tragedy sent him into the depths of despair. Mary, his fifteen-year-old daughter, a student at Denmark Academy, died on November 5, 1864, from what was then known as quick consumption.⁴⁷

Shocked by the death of his daughter and remembering the loss of one of his twin boys, Mr. Salter suffered a relapse, and for a time was in extremely poor health. He

⁴⁵ Salter's *Civil War Diary*.

⁴⁶ See Miller's *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, Vol. VII, pp. 321, 323, 337, 342, and 343, for excellent photographs of the stations, equipment, and field work of the United States Christian Commission.

⁴⁷ This was the second child the Salters had lost in two years. The first was Charles Frederick, one of twin boys, born on December 28, 1861. The second twin, George Benjamin, survived.

managed, however, to preach a Thanksgiving sermon. In this he expressed thanks for the triumphant and peaceful reëlection of President Lincoln, and paid tribute to the work of the Freedmen's Bureau in educating the negro. "In Stevenson, Alabama," he wrote, "in the month of July, I visited one of these schools, held in a log building that had been hastily thrown up for the purpose, and saw one hundred children receiving their first lesson in the primer from a Benevolent Lady who had gone thither from the State of Wisconsin. In Nashville I was told there were a larger number of black children than of white attending school."⁴⁸

By the following March, Mr. Salter's health was greatly improved, and he again watched national events with critical eyes. On April 15, 1865, President Lincoln was slain by John Wilkes Booth. On the following Sunday morning, Mr. Salter preached a vituperative sermon on the President's assassination. Lincoln's death, he said, was the work of southern rebels and must reveal "the real character of the deadly enemy of our peace, and strengthen and intensify the purpose not only to abolish slavery but to exterminate the whole spirit of slavery from the land."⁴⁹ His words reflected the hatred which flared up in the North at the assassination of the President, but taken as a whole, they were an unkind and inaccurate interpretation of the real southern attitude. Had Mr. Lincoln lived, the South might have continued along his line of peaceful and rational reconstruction which even then was in progress. Lincoln alive was more valuable to those lately in rebellion

⁴⁸ Undated sermon, preached during November, 1864, from the text, Acts 4:29, 30 — "And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word. By stretching forth thine hand to heal: and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus."

⁴⁹ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, April 19, 1865.

than Lincoln dead. But Salter, bitter as Wendell Phillips, could see the assassination only as southern treachery.

His sermon differed radically from one preached two days previously when Mr. Salter had spoken of the recent Union victories and of the cheering prospects of national salvation. This was a balanced, careful consideration of events leading to Appomattox, gave evidence of charity, and suggested a generous attitude toward the conquered provinces. Slavery, warned the pastor, must be zealously guarded so that never again might it rise up to distress the nation. But with slavery conquered, the United States faced only order, virtue, prosperity, and a higher civilization.

Simple though reconstruction appeared to Mr. Salter, the nation was to find the task complex and black with hatred. Order and prosperity were not to ease southern wounds until Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877 withdrew the last Federal regiments from their garrisons in hostile Louisiana and South Carolina. But for Salter, secure in the tenets of Republicanism, reconstruction was more of a name than a reality. He personally turned from war's aftermath to the engrossing task of writing biography and history and of assuming his place as Burlington's first citizen and leading pastor.

PHILIP D. JORDAN

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

FORTY DAYS WITH THE CHRISTIAN COMMISSION A DIARY BY WILLIAM SALTER

INTRODUCTION

The record of these forty days at the front¹ is found in a diary, kept by Mr. Salter in the manual issued to him by the Commission. Bound in black leather, with the words "U. S. Christian Commission" imprinted on it in gold letters, the volume measures about 4 x 6½ inches, and contains 112 pages of diary and notes. The first fourteen pages were used for the instructions, advice, and suggestions to delegates. Mr. Salter's first entry is July 4, 1864, and the last on August 17, 1864. These items cover pages 1 to 81 of the diary. Pages 81 to 112 contain notes, autographs, and figures pertaining to the army and the work of the Christian Commission.

Many of the entries made by Mr. Salter are brief, terse, and sometimes incomplete, but taken as a whole they form an excellent narrative of the day by day routine labors of a Christian Commission delegate in the field. At times the work was such that only the barest jotting could go into the record book. "I endeavored to keep a daily record", wrote Mr. Salter, "but such were the multiplicity of labors and incidents and I was often so weary, that I failed to make complete memoranda." The diary is reprinted here as nearly as possible as it was written. Mr. Salter's spelling and punctuation have been followed as closely as his somewhat difficult script would permit. Editorial changes are indicated by square brackets. The footnotes serve their usual function of identifying places, persons, and events.

PHILIP D. JORDAN

¹ For a more detailed account of this see above, pp. 113-120.

[Monday] July 4, 1864

Left Burlington at 7 P. M. in company with Rev. J. W. Pickett,² of Mt. Pleasant. Mr. Hosford³ gave us passes to Chicago, and Mrs. Winton⁴ Ferry tickets. Traveled in company with a motley crowd some of whom were befooled & daemonized by liquor, & by a desecration of the anniversary of the nation's birth.

Labored in conversation with a Copperhead from Monmouth, whose articles of faith were that the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, & that the war on the part of the nation was a robbery of the slaveholders. My labor seemed to be Labor Lost.

Rested in sleeping car. Expenses, 50 cts.

[Tuesday] July 5.

At Chicago 5 A. M. Took a morning walk—very pleasant & the city quiet before the din of business. At Adbin's [sic] House at Breakfast. Dined with Mr. Fay⁵ of C[hristian] C[ommission]. Called on Mr. Farwell,⁶ Pres. & Mr. Jacobs,⁷ Sec. who gave me 20.00\$ for expenses. At

² See Salter's *Memoirs of Joseph W. Pickett* (1880), pp. 23, 24, for extracts from Pickett's letters written while he and Mr. Salter served as delegates of the United States Christian Commission in Tennessee and Georgia.

³ Ralph E. Hosford, agent for the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad at Burlington.

⁴ Mrs. Matthew H. Winton, whose husband was an agent of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad at Burlington. The railroad bridge across the Mississippi at Burlington was not completed until August, 1868, and passengers until that time were ferried across.

⁵ O. W. Fay, staff member of the Chicago office of the United States Christian Commission.

⁶ John V. Farwell, president of the Chicago Y. M. C. A. in 1862; later in charge of the United States Christian Commission rooms in Chicago, 42-46 Wabash Avenue.

⁷ B. F. Jacobs, member of the Chicago Y. M. C. A., who, with D. L. Moody, organized the Chicago "Committee on Devotional Meetings", in February, 1862. Mr. Jacobs ministered to the wounded at Ft. Donelson; and in December, 1864, gave aid to the wounded at the battle of Franklin.

noon-day Prayer Meeting in Methodist Block, animated meeting, a good spirit prevailed. Br. Moody,⁸ in view of the sins and hardness of the people's hearts, had some of the feelings of Elijah,⁹ when he prayed earnestly that it might not rain, asking that God would visit such judgments upon the land as might induce the return of the people to God. The matter was brought out by the bringing in [of] some requests for Prayer for rain. Mr. Payson Hammond¹⁰ addressed the meeting on laboring for the recovery of the fallen women in Chicago, & alluded [?] to what had been done in this direction in London & Edinburgh.

Expenses. Breakfast & Tea \$1.00.

Left Chicago [at] 6 P. M. with pass that brought me to Indianapolis (via Michigan City and Lafayette) at 4 A. M. Sleeping car 50 cts.

Wednesday, July 6. [Indianapolis]

Walked over the city and admired its broad streets. Visited State House. Poor breakfast at Spencer House. 50 cts.

Left [at] 8.20 for Louisville.

108 miles to Jeffersonville. Fare at military rates. Dinner at 2.25. Bus to Louisville 50 cts. Tea at Gelt [?] House, 1.00.

At Rooms of Christian Commission [on] 6th. St. between

⁸ Dwight Lyman Moody (February 5, 1837 — December 22, 1899), famous Chicago evangelist. Mr. Moody, for reasons of conscience, did not enlist in the Civil War, but helped organize the Army and Navy Committee of the Chicago Y. M. C. A. which later became a branch of the United States Christian Commission. — *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIII.

⁹ "And Elijah the Tishbite, who was one of the inhabitants of Gilead, said unto Ahab, As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my words." — 1 Kings 17:1.

¹⁰ Edward Payson Hammond (September 1, 1831 — August 14, 1910), evangelist, author of *The Conversion of Children* (1878), and of about a hundred small books and tracts. — *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIII.

Main & River. Kindly rec'd by Mr. Hickok¹¹ Station ag't. Met Mr. Roberts, Delegate, Superintendent of Schools at Salerbaugh, Ill. now laboring in hospitals in Louisville. Miss Shelton¹² of Burlington here.

Isaac Rapell, Superintendent at Louisville, a dry, cold man, apparently unsympathetic with the great moral issues at stake.

A comfortable night's rest. Left at 7 A. M. Thursday for Nashville. Cars crowded — country poor — cultivation bad — buildings very shabby — country prettier & more romantic towards Nashville where arrived at 5½ P. M. Rec'd at C[hristian] C[ommission] House, 14 Spruce St., formerly property of a Rebel.

Met Mrs. Wittenmeyer,¹³ Wesley Dennett of Keokuk, Mr. Kerr of Fairfield, a son¹⁴ of whom died lately in Hospital at Chattanooga.

[Thursday] July 7 [Nashville]

The train from Louisville [was] under a Military Director, and with Guards: Coarse and clumsy *stockades* at the River crossings to guard the Bridges, on *one* of

¹¹ George A. Hickok, of Saline, Washington County, Michigan.

¹² Misses Mary E. and Amanda Shelton, of Burlington, were among Mrs. Wittenmyer's most efficient assistants. Mary E. Shelton, afterwards Mrs. Huston, was Mrs. Wittenmyer's secretary from 1863 to 1865. Amanda Shelton, "strong of body and courageous of soul", who later became Mrs. Stewart, of Mt. Pleasant, was one of the women in charge of the diet kitchens.—Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns* (1895), pp. 230, 231.

¹³ Mrs. Annie Turner Wittenmyer (August 26, 1827 — February 2, 1900), one of Iowa's most active relief workers during the Civil War. She organized and supervised the system of diet kitchens in the Union Army. In 1895 she published a collection of short sketches of her war experiences under the title, *Under the Guns*. For a sketch of her life see Gallaher's *Annie Turner Wittenmyer* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXIX, pp. 518–569, and the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 280–282.

¹⁴ Elliott W. Kerr. Age 18. Enlisted March 31, 1864. Wounded severely May 14, 1864, at Resaca, Georgia. Died of wounds June 23, 1864.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, p. 1523.

which noticed this sign: "Please Drop a Paper", where for want of something better I dropped a Louisville Journal.

[Took] Bus to C[hristian] C[ommission] 14 Spruce St. 25 cts. Here spent the night in 3rd. story in room with 7 Delegates — hot.

Friday, July 8 [Nashville]

Loaded haversack [at] 8 A. M. at office of C[hristian] C[ommission] with papers, tracts, Testaments, writing-paper, & envelopes, etc, and spent the day visiting Tents of 2d & 3d Division.

Rev. R. Day (from N. J.) Chaplain, gentlemanly & polite.

Surgeons seem efficient & order good. Showers in aft. Wrote C. Dunham,¹⁵ Hawkeye, giving partial list of Iowa soldiers seen today. Wrote Mrs. S[alter]. Wrote two letters for soldiers to their families. Met Mr. Sam'l Wolcott¹⁶ of Cleveland, O. on his way to the front.

[Gave] To sick soldiers from Iowa Co. \$1.00.

Saturday, July 9

Wrote Deacon Foote.¹⁷ Left Nashville [at] 7 A. M. on Hospital Train. At Murfresboro 10½. Distributed papers among soldiers at the stockades along the Road. Porter of valise to Rooms of Christian C[ommission] on Public Square 25cts. Rev. Mr. Geo. Parrott, Delegate, in charge here, from O[hio], active, pleasant man.

¹⁵ Charles Dunham became a partner in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in 1851. In 1855 he, with J. L. Brown, purchased the *Burlington Telegraph*, combining them as the *Hawk-Eye and Telegraph*. On March 26, 1856, Mr. Dunham became sole editor and proprietor, continuing as such until 1864.

¹⁶ The Reverend Samuel Wolcott, pastor of the Plymouth Church, Cleveland, Ohio.

¹⁷ John G. Foote (April 21, 1814 — March 4, 1896) came to Burlington in 1843 where he carried on a hardware business for thirty-three years. In 1861 he was elected State Senator on the Republican ticket, serving in the Ninth and Tenth General Assemblies. — *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 406.

Rev. Mr. Ernshaw (from Pa.) Chaplain in Regular Army — fine looking man. Rev. Mr. Patterson¹⁸ (Mich) Chaplain. All gentlemenly men, Methodists, took their duties easy.

Wrote Br. Ben.,¹⁹ Paterson, N. J.

“ Mrs. S[alter].

Rode out after tea on horseback with Chaplain Patterson and Mr. Parrott to Stone river toward the fortifications which are very extensive. Chaplain Patterson, who was in the battle Dec. 1862, pointed out the ground.

Visited preacher's family of African Ch[urch] — he absent at Nashville. Also Miss ————²⁰ teacher sent out of a Freedman's Association in Indiana. Baptist lady — has over 100 colored scholars.

In addition to the two chaplains whom I have seen, there are one or two other Regimental chaplains here who ought to do all the labor that is needed.

Sunday, July 10, Murfreesboro

Distributed some 400 papers in Hospitals No. 2, No. 3. Found 4 Iowa soldiers. Two natives of Georgia in 12th. & 10th. Tenn. Cavalry who can barely read. Wrote letter to Mrs. Nellie W. Woodin, Potter's Hollow, Albany Co., New York, for her husband with erysipelas in right leg. Took corn bread & butter, new potatoes & stewed (fresh) blackberries to him 12.30 P. M. from our dinner table.

Attended Preaching of Rev. Mr. Parrott in Campbellite Church, about 240 present, $\frac{1}{2}$ soldiers, $\frac{1}{4}$ ladies, $\frac{1}{4}$ citizens.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 P. M. held Divine Service in Hospital No. 3.

¹⁸ The Reverend W. M. Patterson, serving in the 17th Corps hospitals.

¹⁹ Benjamin Salter (September 4, 1818 — October 3, 1873), William Salter's oldest brother, was born at Portsmouth, N. H., moved to Brooklyn with his parents where he attended the Crosby Street High School, and became a member of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church. He engaged in various businesses in New York and in Paterson, New Jersey.

²⁰ This space was left blank in the diary.

(City Hotel) 127 beds. 32 present at service. Preached in midst of fine shower from Lu[ke] 23:— on the Three Crosses.

At 3 P. M. Held Divine Service in Branch of No. 4, 2 doors west of C[hristian] C[ommission] rooms. 30 present. Preached from Rom. 12:1.²¹

At 6½ P. M. preached in Post Chapel (Campbellite Church) from Matt. 24:6,²² about 200 in attendance — Gen. Van Cleve & other officers. Choir (5 soldiers, 4 ladies) sang “Before Jehovah’s awful Throne” to “Denmark”,²³ & chanted 23d. Psalm.

Monday, July 11

Wrote Mr. Foote. [Wrote] Mary T[ufts]²⁴ [Salter].

Took pickles & dried apple to two sick soldiers in City Hotel. Left M[urfreesboro] at 11 A. M. on Locomotive 85, Engineer from Wisconsin, has run saw-mill near Lucas Grove, Muscatine Co., Iowa.

Dinner at Wartrace 75 cts. Took up Br. Pickett at Tullahoma, who reports an interesting work among the soldiers (5th. Tenn. Cavalry & others.)

At Decherd got into the caboot [sic] of a freight train & reached Stevenson [at] 10 P. M., through much grand scenery — tunnel through mts. over 2000 ft long. Conductor of caboose unwilling to carry us, but finally consented [?] that we c’d go.

²¹ “I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable with God, which is your reasonable service.”

²² “And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.”

²³ “Before Jehovah’s Awful Throne”, music by F. M. A. Venua, words by I. Watts. — Weir’s *Sacred Music the Whole World Loves* (1916). “Denmark by whose verdant strand”, a Danish patriotic song. Words by R. Bay. — Sousa’s *National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands* (1890).

²⁴ Mary Tufts Salter (February 4, 1849 — November 5, 1864), born at Burlington, was William Salter’s oldest child. She attended Denmark Academy.

At Soldiers' Home, Stevenson, where Stephen A. Douglass made a speech in 1860 in Presidential canvass, & Jeff. Davis made a rebel speech a year or more ago. It was formerly called "the Alabama Hotel."

Tuesday, July 12, Stevenson, Alabama

In morning called on Capt. W. A. Warren,²⁵ later Quartermaster & Mr. Davis, of Jackson Co. Iowa. Very politely rec'd. Capt. W[arren] got horses & took us to ride a very little. Mr. Bettis²⁶ of 5th. Iowa there — his wife a daughter of Rev. T. H. Canfield. Mr. D[avis] was a lad of 16 when I went to Maquoketa, & remembers my labors there.

Visited Rev. Mr. Marchill[?], Chaplain 132d. Indiana (100 days men) N[ew] S[chool] Pres[byterian] Ch[urch] in Indianapolis — pleasant, good man. Also called on Chaplain Boyd, but did not find him.

Capt. Warren took us to ride on horseback towards Tennessee river, & we visited the fortifications. Visited colored school taught by Miss Randall from Madison, Wis., in a log house erected for the purpose, without floor, & canvass roof. 110 scholars present, 4 of them white. Miss R[andall] faithful and devoted, & doing a noble work. Called on a colored woman who assured us she was the mother of 27 children, 10 girls, 17 boys. Her oldest daughter has 13 children. When her old master died, she was taken to the Court House, about 1848, in Campbell Co., Georgia, with ten children & came away with only one. She is now 53 years old. Capt. Warren had her picture taken for me with her youngest child.

²⁵ William A. Warren came to Bellevue from the Galena lead mines in 1836, became Sheriff of Jackson County in 1840, helping to subdue the famous "Brown Gang". He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1857. — *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 206-262, 599, Vol. III, pp. 32, 69, 633.

²⁶ Frank A. Bettis. Age 25. Residence Bellevue. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of Rebellion*, Vol. I, p. 693.

Dined with Capt. Warren — new potatoes, cabbage, beets, beans, onions, and pork with peaches from cans & apple pudding.

Heavy shower at 4 P. M.

List of Prices

Fixed by Col. Sam C. Vance, commanding Post.

Butter	25 cts a lb.	
Sweet Milk	25 cts a gallon	
Butter Milk	“ “ “ “	
Eggs	“ “ “ “	[sic]
Blackberries	50 “ “ “	
Chickens	30 “ a piece	
Potatoes	2.00 a bushel	
Beans	2.00 “ “	

[Wednesday July] 13th.

132d Indiana leaves for Tullahoma, July 13th. mostly from about Indianapolis — under poor discipline. One of Co. S. killed this morning by discharge of his gun while passing between cars. His body sent to Indiana by Adams' express.²⁷ 135th. Indiana (Col. Wilson) take their place — 100 day men.

Distributed papers. Visited military prison, full of deserters, thieves, & hard cases of all kind, & dirt & filth. A disgrace to the army and the country. The prisoners sought for papers with great avidity. Saw a squad led out to work on the fortifications. I asked one soldier (prisoner) of a Wisconsin Regiment what he had done wrong. He said nothing. Had only wanted a 2d. furlough. I spoke of the guilt of deserting his country. He replied that he was willing to fight for his country, but not for the niggers! A genuine Copperhead from Fon Du Lac, Wis.

²⁷ For a detailed account of the work of the Adams Express Company in shipping home bodies of soldier dead, see Harlow's *Old Waybills* (1934), pp. 299, 300.

Distributed papers among 135th. Indiana, & Michigan Engineers, & Ohio Artillery.

Rev. Mr. Boyd (Methodist) Chaplain, from northern Indiana, engaged to attend to distribution of reading matter — seemed a pleasant [man], efficient, promised to look after the work generally & among the children in colored school.

Surgeons generally drinking men. Capt. W. A. Warren & Quartermasters too.

Met Dr. Helton, a respectable physician, Union man from the beginning. Has wife & one daughter, both sickly, lives 5 miles west of Stevenson.

Dr. H[elton] has two children, boy 5 years old, girl, 3 yrs old, by a slave mother. She belonged to his family, but has left & become abandoned. She obtained an order for the children from Col. Vance, 132 Indiana, commanding the Post, & a squad of soldiers were sent to secure the children for their mother.

Dr. Helton came to town today to intercede for the restoration of the children to him. He & his family treat them with affection & care, & are very anxious for their return.

Also met Gen. Austin who marched into Stevenson with Union flag & 400 men in 1861.

[Thursday, July 14]
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Staid Wednesday night in Soldiers' Home with bugs, & fleas &.

Left at 3 A. M. July 14 for Bridgeport & Chattanooga, where arrived at 7½ P. M. At rooms of C[hristian] C[ommission] on Main St. Rev. Mr. Lathrop,²⁸ Episcopalian, from Ohio in charge, pleasant gentleman.

Visited 3 P. M. Military Prison, full of captured de-

²⁸ H. D. Lathrop, superintendent of Christian Commission rooms at Chattanooga. His home parish was Springfield, Ohio.

serters, rebel prisoners, & citizens from Georgia sent north by Gen. Sherman — a motley set, $\frac{1}{2}$ clad, some 15 & 16 years of age & others over 60.

Distributed papers among them & conversed with about 100. One of the sad and shocking scenes of war.

Chattanooga, July 15. Friday

Walked out to General Field Hospital, [at] 8 A. M., two miles South, East of Railroad, with Br. Gilchrist²⁹ (from Indianapolis). The Hospital has Lookout Mountain on the South West, & Mission Ridge lies to the East. Visited several wards in morning, wrote letters for 3 wounded soldiers. In afternoon held prayer meeting & preached from Jno. "Let not your heart be troubled."³⁰ 20 present. Walked to town 7 P. M.

Had dysentery symptoms through the day.

Saturday, July 16. Chattanooga

Took dose of podophyllum in Seidlitz powder.

Rode out on horseback to Gen'l Field Hospital carrying package of papers & books.

Preached at 2 P. M. from Ps. 72:4.³¹ (15 present) Some 200 patients sent North this afternoon, & as many rec'd from the front.

Called on Dr. Byrne.

Walked to town, 2 miles. Very hot day.

Mr. Sunderland, Sutter of 25th. Iowa & Mr. Greggs³² called to see me.

Asked a very bright young soldier from Ohio with whom

²⁹ Reverend William A. Gilchrist, Greenwood, Indiana.

³⁰ "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me."
— John 14:1.

³¹ "He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor."

³² William Gregg. Age 31. Residence Burlington. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, p. 919.

I had had some pleasant conversation, if he had written home to his mother. He hesitated, but finally said, No. I asked him what was the matter. He still hesitated, but finally said there was a coldness between them. Why, says I, what's the matter. Oh, replied he, she is a copperhead. (!)

Sunday, July 17, 1864

Chattanooga, Tenn.

Preached in Post Chapel (Old Baptist ch.) on the hill East of Main St. Rev. John Dillon,³³ Chaplain of 18th. Ohio (seems like a correct good man) in pulpit. Preached from Ex. 15:3.³⁴

Lieut. Daniels (Assistant Quartermaster) invited me to dinner, (with Mr. Martin) from New Albany, Ind. Christian gentleman.

On returning [at] 4 P. M. stopped at Chapel, where a negro meeting (very disorderly & tumultuous) was in progress.

Preached at 7 P. M. at Convalescent Camp [of] 15th. Army Corps, on Bank of Tenn. River, East of Lookout Mt., the moon and stars for witnesses. About 100 soldiers gathered with Mr. Gregg of Des Moines Co., Quartermaster Sergeant in charge of baggage & Capt. Lockwood,³⁵ Quartermaster, formerly of Mt. Pleasant.

Preached from Rev. 12:1.³⁶ Delegates Pickett & Roberts (from Galesburgh, Ill.) with me and Mr. McDowell from

³³ John Dillon. Age 46. Mustered September 16, 1861. Mustered out November 9, 1864. — *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1886), Vol. II, p. 575.

³⁴ "The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name."

³⁵ John C. Lockwood. Age 51. Residence Louisa County, Appointed Quartermaster October 15, 1862. Mustered out June 5, 1865. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, p. 1486.

³⁶ "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."

Mt. Pleasant who is working here for U. S. blacksmith, at 60\$ a month. He speaks well of the blacks who work in the shop as intelligent & having capacity for mechanical work.

Monday, July 18. Chattanooga

Rode out at 10 A. M. (after waiting an hour) with Mrs. Wittenmeyer to Gen'l Field Hospital. [In] Ward A Prayed with Wisconsin soldier, Baptist, from Fox Lake — lost a leg — very weak.

Gave House-wife³⁷ to Wm. Hymen, Co. H. 66th. Ill., [a] nurse.

Visited Tents to Ward "C", Tent 2. Several good fellows who had lost left arm — one from Wisconsin, particularly resigned & cheerful — wounded on Chattohookie [sic] in supporting a battery.

[He said] I am going home a better man than when I came out. Parents died when I was 5 years old. Lived with an uncle a good physician, now surgeon in 125th. Ohio. Learned painters business — but c'd not save any money — have since learned to be saving, & have sent home 500\$ since in the army. Am trying to improve, & mean to go home confirmed in my moral purposes.

(Bugler) H. C. McHenry³⁸

Co. B. 38th. Ohio V. I.

Preached at 2 P. M. from Is. 50:10³⁹ & had good prayer

³⁷ These were little bags of various shapes and sizes, many of them made by Sunday School children. The bags contained needles, pins, thread, yarn, buttons, and frequently a pair of scissors, thimble, steel pens, lead pencil, handkerchiefs, and other small articles. Nearly five thousand of these "comforters" were distributed by the Christian Commission. — Moss's *Annals of the United States Christian Commission*, p. 651.

³⁸ Henry B. McHenry. Age 20. Mustered August 19, 1861. Mustered out with company, July 12, 1865. — *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio*, Vol. X, p. 46.

³⁹ "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God."

meeting. The two ladies of the Diet Kitchen (from Quincy, Ill. & Keokuk) present.⁴⁰

Wrote letters for Jas. Miller to his mother in Logan Co. O[hio]. Mrs. Hannah Richardson. wounded through left ankle & right hip. Joseph Sawyer to his father, Gordon, in Decatur, Ill. Mr. Catherell to his wife, Mrs. Mary C[athere]ll], Roseville, o[hio].

Visited Ward "E".

Tuesday, July 19. Chattanooga, Tenn.

Wrote Sarah S. Linn, Melrose, Seneca Co., New York, particulars of death of her son, Jas.⁴¹ Co. H. 55th. Ohio.

Called on Dr. Dewey, Ass't Sur[geon] from Meadville, Pa. On Dr. Johnson, from Va., has been with Southern Army Volunteer Surgeons. Caterer of the mess — politely offered to take me in the mess for about 2.50 or 3.00 per week.

Wrote Mrs. Marg. J. Izzard, Creek Oak, Ind., for her husband. West Randall for his brother. Wrote Mrs. Salter & told her of plans to remain at Gen'l Field Hospital when Mr. Lathrop came in with orders to go to Marietta tomorrow. Wrote Mrs. S. of the change.

30 at Prayer Meeting. [Preached from] Ps. 46.⁴²

Called in eve on Dr. Francis Salter, Medical Director of Post, native of Chester, England, from Ohio about Circleville. Has stuck to the Army, not been out of the lines from the beginning. Left England after getting into practice there — about 40 — complained of indisposition — fever (Southern) — not been sick before since entering the service.

⁴⁰ These probably were Miss Louisa Vance and Miss Carrie Wilkins. — Moss's *Annals of the United States Christian Commission*, p. 684.

⁴¹ James Linn. Age 19. Mustered August 25, 1862. Died July 27, 1864, in hospital at Chattanooga. — *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio*, Vol. V, p. 72.

⁴² Psalms 46, beginning: "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble."

Wednesday, July 20.

Hooker's Corps. Battle in front of Atlanta 4 P. M.

Left Chattanooga, 8-30 A. M. in company with Rev. Wm. Barrett⁴³ of Greenfield, Highland Co. O[hio]. (O[ld] S[chool] Pres[byterian]) who goes to Rome, Ga.

At junction of Knoxville road detained 1½ hour waiting for other trains. In charge of bag for Mrs. Wittenmeyer, Mr. Critchfield,⁴⁴ haversack & canteen, rubber blanket &. Detained at Ringold, & several stations. At Dalton 4. 15 P. M. At Marietta ½ past 12 midnight. Rode in caboose in which remained till daylight. At Kingston got bread & boiled ham at rooms of Sanitary C[ommission].⁴⁵ Mr. Wilson⁴⁶ (whose family are in Oxford, O[hio] in company.

Thursday, July 21. Marietta, Georgia

At house of Rev. John Francis Lanneau, graduated Yale College, 1829, occupied by C[hristian] C[ommission]. pleasantly situated — fine oaks.

Labored in Hospital of 4th. Division 16th. Corps among sick & wounded of 27th, 39th, Ohio & 64th. Ill.

Wrote letters to Manasseh Hupp, Graysville, O[hio] for his son, Wm., badly wounded July 4 in shoulder. P. W. Sperry, for Wm. Morrison, brought up by him. Thos. Hill, for son Chas. Trenton, N[ew] Jersey.

In Prayer Meeting at 4 P. M. 30 soldiers present in Rooms of C[hristian] C[ommission]. Preached at night from vestibule of Pres. Ch. from Ps. 101:1.⁴⁷ About 75 present. Met. Dr. Patterson, 23rd. Corps Hospital, with

⁴³ Reverend Jno. Barrett, Greenfield, Ohio.

⁴⁴ Reverend N. B. Critchfield, New Lexington, Pennsylvania.

⁴⁵ For a full description of the Christian Commission work at Kingston, Georgia, see Moss's *Annals of the United States Christian Commission*, pp. 498-501.

⁴⁶ Reverend R. W. Wilson, Bloomingburg, Ohio.

⁴⁷ "I will sing of mercy and judgment: unto thee, O Lord, will I sing."

newsletter. [Wrote] Sister Mary,⁴⁸ Portsmouth, N. H. Mr. Lanneau commissioned to labor in the Rebel Hospitals at Marietta. His salary from Jan. 19 to Ap. 1, 1864 was sent him in check 355\$.

Friday, July 22. Marietta, Georgia

Fight on left. McPherson killed.

At 6½ rode in ambulance with Magill,⁴⁹ Koeligh,⁵⁰ & Mrs. Wittenmeyer to Vinings, over track of rebel breast-works & dead mules etc., 9 miles, & visited Gen'l Field Hospital, Dr. Woodworth, Trumbull Co., O[hio]. Heard from ammunition train [the news] of fall of Atlanta, & ascended to Signal Station & gained view of splendid landscape, very extended & grand — Kenesaw & Lost Mts. behind & valley of Chattohookie, Atlantic & Stone Mt. in front. Saw & heard smoke & reports of cannonading. Visited few soldiers wounded [the] 20th. Helped sick & wounded on train for Chattanooga. Returned to Marietta on cars.

After tea started out to visit 23d. Corps Hospital with Mrs. Wittenmeyer. Overtaken by rain, took shelter in a deserted dwelling. At Church (Pres[byterian]) Heard cannonading. Wrote T. Hedge⁵¹ & spent pleasant hour in singing with Brethren.

Saturday, July 23d.

At 23d. Corps Hospital, Dr. Meacham,⁵² situated on good rolling ground. Wrote several letters for soldiers wounded on 20th. inst. brought in last night, all of them

⁴⁸ Mary Elizabeth Salter, born May 18, 1820, in Portsmouth, N. H.

⁴⁹ Reverend Charles B. Magill, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Birmingham, Iowa.

⁵⁰ Reverend Theophilus Koetzli, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁵¹ Thomas Hedge, Sr., a leading Burlington business man.

⁵² Dr. F. Meacham, Williamstown, Miss., superintendent of the Twenty-third Corps Hospital.

lying upon the ground. one without shirt. many without shirts carried up in afternoon. 4 shirts & 3 pr. drawers & 5 packages of bandages. Met squad of over 100 able bodied negroes, some of them children of miscegenation, brought in by a cavalry raid — happy fellows on their way to join our army.

Met Rice (son of David Rice) Jacoby & Grange [?]

In aft. at 23d. Corps Hospital in company with Br. Stiles.⁵³ At Post Chapel in eve — large congregation, sermon by Br. Wilkersham. Heavy cannonading heard at intervals through the day. Lt. True, of N[ew] Y[ork], who brought a lot of wounded to Vinings from Hooker's Corps, at tea with us.

Wrote Mrs. S[alter].

Sunday, July 24. Marietta, Georgia

Cool. Heavy cannonading this morning. At 23d. Corps Hospital, Preached under trees from Heb. 10:35.⁵⁴

Rebel Grave Yard S[outh] E[ast] of town. "Unknown (14) killed by R. R. Collision, Sunday Sept. 14, 1863". "D. Dupless Killed June 25, 1864. Co. F."

From walls of Georgia Military Institute in red pencil: "Good by Yanks — we have got sick of this country. You will find us at Cedar Bluff nine miles the other side of Atlanta. If you'uns drive us from there you will find us next time nine miles the other side of Hell. Men we are strongly fortified.

Enoch Saxon

14 Ga. Vols. Co. B."

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. L. Roberts etc. Died Jan. 24, 1860. She was a devoted Christian, a good wife,

⁵³ Reverend Edmund R. Stiles, pastor of the Congregational Church, Brighton, Ohio.

⁵⁴ "Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward."

an affectionate mother, & a kind mistress, bearing all the fruits of a child of God."

Br. Pickett preached at Georgia Military Institute, Hospital of 17th. Corps. Dr. Miller & other surgeons very polite. 180 patients. Lt. Col. Abercrombie⁵⁵ reported wounded, & several captains of 11th. Iowa killed.

Preached in P. M. in Post Chapel from Jer. 47:6,7.⁵⁶ Large attendance.

Monday, July 25.

[At] 9½ A. M. went in car to Vining[s]. 11 (one of them rebel) died at Field Hospital of Cumberland (Vining) yesterday. 9 of them wounded, 2 typhoid fever. saw "unknown rebel" carried to his grave on stretcher. Left Vining 3 P. M. in an ambulance of 20th. corps with soldier from Washington Co., N. Y. Crackers & dried beef at Chattahooku [sic], cut cane in canebrak.

At hospital of 1st. Division, 20th. Corps, over 200 killed, 431 wounded in action of 20th. about dark. Kindly entertained by surgeons. fine running stream by Hospital in which had a good wash. camped for night in tent. Dr. Heatt, 2d. Mass., [is] social & communicative. Saw 4 rebels wounded from At[lanta] in one tent.

Thursday, July 26.

Hospital 1st. D[ivision] 20th. Corps. 3 wounded men died last night. About 150 loaded in ambulances for Vining, all wounded.

Left 8 A. M. on march. Walked over battlefield of 20th.

⁵⁵ John C. Abercrombie. Age 36. Residence Burlington. Appointed Major October 19, 1861. Promoted Lieutenant Colonel September 1, 1862; Colonel August 7, 1864. Mustered out November 5, 1864. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. II, p. 284.

⁵⁶ "O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkeloa, and against the sea shore? there hath he appointed it."

Passed Gen'l Thomas' Headquarters, swinging from the right towards centre with 9th. Michigan. Dr. Bowman [?] very polite. Took our blankets on his horse — of 15th. Corps.⁵⁷

At lines of 2d. D[ivision] 20th. Corps (Gen. Geary) saw rebel shell bursting in air on the right — country well watered — lies in ridges — mostly wooded — with Lt. Col. David Remick⁵⁸ & Mr. Cameron.⁵⁹

Major Walker⁶⁰ (13th. Iowa) killed. 16th. Iowa 200 missing. Col. Saunders⁶¹ wounded & taken prisoner.

Called on Gen. Howard — delightful interview — a man of faith in God.

The Iowa Brigade (Col. Hall⁶² commanding) (11th. 13th. 15th & 16th) charged on the rebel works, the 21st. about 10 in the morning. The 13th. Iowa lost 99 men (killed & wounded) in 27 minutes. The Brigade lost 211. On the 22d the Brigade was on the extreme left & attacked the rebels about noon. The Rebels in force. The 16th. Corps came to relief but did not close up & it was in the gap that McPherson was killed.

⁵⁷ This incident is reported in detail in Salter's *Memoirs of Joseph W. Pickett*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ David Remick. Residence Burlington. Lieutenant Colonel and Commissary Officer, Fourth Army Corps, Department of the Cumberland.

⁵⁹ Robert Cameron, Commissary Clerk, Fourth Army Corps, Department of the Cumberland.

⁶⁰ William A. Walker. Age 29. Appointed Major March 13, 1863. Killed in action near Atlanta, Georgia, on July 22, 1864. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. II, p. 710.

⁶¹ Addison K. Sanders. Age 38. Appointed Lieutenant Colonel November 14, 1861. Missing in action near Atlanta, Georgia, on July 22, 1864. Promoted to Brevet Colonel of Volunteers and Brevet Brigadier General, March 13, 1865. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. II, p. 1071.

⁶² William Hall. Age 29. Appointed Colonel September 1, 1862. Resigned August 1, 1864. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. II, p. 284.

Major Foster⁶³ 11th. Iowa wounded in left hip.

Wednesday July 27. Before Atlanta

Good nights rest — little rain.

On way out to hospital met 15th. Corps in motion to the right. saw Captain Clune⁶⁴ & company of 6th. Iowa. Also 25th. Col. Stone,⁶⁵ Adj. Perkins, Lt. Fiddler, Capt. Walter [?], Bill & Snow. Also Allan Lockwood, Thos. Troxel, & Wm. Gilbert & others.

⁶³ Charles Foster. Age 41. Residence Le Claire. Appointed Captain Oct. 1, 1861. Promoted Major Sept. 1, 1862. Wounded July 22, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia. Died of wounds August 21, 1864, Cincinnati, Ohio. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. II, p. 320.

⁶⁴ William H. Clune. Age 28. Residence Burlington. Promoted Captain of Company I, November 26, 1862. Wounded July 22, 1864, Griswoldville, Georgia. Promoted Major July 29, 1864; Lieutenant Colonel December 30, 1864; Colonel June 8, 1865. Mustered out July 21, 1865, Louisville, Ky. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. I, p. 816.

⁶⁵ Unless otherwise noted the following data concerning these men is taken from the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*.

George A. Stone. Age 28. Residence Mt. Pleasant. Appointed Colonel August 10, 1862. Promoted Brevet Brigadier General United States Volunteers, March 13, 1865. — Vol. III, p. 918; and Stuart's *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, pp. 407-414.

Adj. Perkins was probably Albert H. Perkins, of Co. D, Twenty-fifth Infantry. — Vol. III, p. 983.

John B. Fidler. Age 23. Residence Davenport. Enlisted August 14, 1862. Promoted Second Lieutenant February 5, 1863; First Lieutenant May 9, 1863. Wounded October 2, 1863, Cherokee, Florida. Mustered out June 6, 1865, Washington, D. C. — Vol. III, p. 945.

"Capt. Walter Bill" was probably John N. Bell. Age 23. Residence Burlington, nativity Ohio. Appointed Captain July 21, 1862. Mustered out June 6, 1865, Washington, D. C. — Vol. III, p. 927.

Samuel W. Snow. Age 24. Residence Burlington. Appointed First Lieutenant July 21, 1862. Promoted Adjutant March 1, 1863. Wounded in August, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia. Resigned for promotion as Captain and Adjutant General, United States Volunteers, April 8, 1865. — Vol. III, p. 995.

Sergeant Allen D. Lockwood. Age 18. Residence Burlington. Enlisted August 6, 1862. Wounded severely March 20, 1865, Mill Creek, N. C. Mustered out June 6, 1865. — Vol. III, p. 966.

Sergeant Thomas G. Troxel. Age 18. Residence Burlington. Enlisted Aug. 21, 1862. Mustered out June 6, 1865, Washington, D. C. — Vol. III, p. 1002.

William F. Gilbert. Age 18. Residence Burlington. Enlisted July 26, 1862. Mustered out June 6, 1865, Washington, D. C. — Vol. III, p. 950.

Dined at C[hristian] C[ommission] Tent. Spent aft. in 17th. army corps Hospital. wrote 9 letters for wounded soldiers, mostly of Iowa Regiments. Wrote for Green Belinger a rebel (Texas) to his father, Jas. F. Keokuk — Badly wounded, a defiant rebel. His father from Ky. He belonged to Hardee's Corps.

Two soldiers lying side by side — one has lost his right arm, the other his left.

Another his left arm & left leg from Cedar Co. Isaac Wickham died this evening. Ellery Sparks also died this evening — wrote letters for both.

Met Heizer⁶⁶ from Kossuth in Q[uartermaster] department, 30th. Iowa — son of Nathaniel H[eizer]. formerly worked with E. Jay [?] — looking very hearty & well.

Thursday, July 28. Before Atlanta, Georgia

4 companies of 13th. Iowa made 9 stacks of guns = 36 guns.

Dr. Thomas (of Keokuk) [and] Dr. Edgar surgeon in chief [of the] 6th. Division Hospital 17th. Corps.

wounded of 11th. Iowa 57

“ “ 13th. “ 100

“ “ 15th. “ 51

“ “ 16th. “ 53

241

Saw Chaplain Elrod⁶⁷ (13th. Iowa) formerly a Capt. in the Regiment. Had written no letters for soldiers — had no paper.

⁶⁶ Company C, Thirtieth Iowa, contained two Heizers from Kossuth — Martin L. Heizer and Samuel B. Heizer. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, p. 1523.

⁶⁷ John Elrod. Age 43. Residence Washington. Appointed Captain November 2, 1861. Promoted Chaplain November 19, 1862. Mustered out November, 1864, expiration of service. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. II, p. 606.

21 wounded of 3d. Iowa Infantry

241 as above

262 copied list of these — whole number in Hospital this morning 410.

Gen. Gresham commanded the Division & was wounded in leg & tibia in advance of 21st.

Before Atlanta. Friday, July 29

Major Ennis⁶⁸ commanding 6th. Iowa mortally wounded in abdomen [on the] 28th, & died in 4 hours.

Gen. Corse commanding 2d D[ivision] 16th Corps — assumed command July 26, 1[st] at Rome. Ga., 2[nd] here. 2d. [and] 7th. Iowa in this division. 39th. at Rome. Battle of Proctor's Creek [on the] 28th. Fight commenced about noon [and] lasted 3½ hours. Rebels made 7 assaults.

Saw Gen. Giles A. Smith who commanded division in which is Iowa Brigade — 4th. D[ivision] 17th. Corps. Met Governor Stone⁶⁹ who said that Sherman will send to Hospital at Keokuk on furlough all the wounded Iowa soldiers able to bear transportation & are not likely to be fit for duty in six weeks.

Called on Gen. Corse

Lt. Col. Abercrombie

Met Capt. Perkins

Lt. Snow

Capt. Rogers⁷⁰ of 30th. Iowa one of the heroes of the

⁶⁸ Thomas J. Ennis. Age 20. Residence Lyons. Appointed Adjutant January 1, 1862. Promoted Major March 14, 1863. Killed in action July 28, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.

⁶⁹ William Milo Stone (October 14, 1827 — July 18, 1893), sixth Governor of Iowa. — Shambaugh's *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 3, 4.

⁷⁰ This was apparently Aurelius Roberts. Age 26. Residence Des Moines County. Enlisted in First Iowa, April 20, 1861. Appointed Captain, Thirtieth Infantry, July 25, 1862. Promoted Lieutenant Colonel May 29, 1863. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. I, p. 66, Vol. III, p. 1554.

Iowa First. Also Mr. Robinson,⁷¹ of 30th, worn down with fatigue, & on his way to Hospital.

visited the battle ground of yesterday with Gen Corse & saw the revolting scene of dead rebels, some 30 lying close to each other & within 40 feet of our works. They had literally been mowed down — 40 had been buried in the morning.

returned to Col. Remick's under burning sun & afterwards, heavy showers — scorched & wet through.

Stopped near Gen. Sherman's Headquarters, at colored barber's.

Wrote John G. Foote
rode about 20 miles.

Saturday, July 30.

At C[hristian] C[ommission] Tent — no stores, no papers. dined with Mr. Critchfield.

wrote Letters in Hospital 4th., 17th. Corps to Andrew Broadstone, Fort Dodge, Iowa for his son, [for] J. Snyder, Belleville, O[hio] from his brother dan'l, [and for] S. Pickler, Salem, Ind.

Heavy showers — atmosphere dense — very full in Hospital Tents, some of them covered only with branches.

Sunday, July 31. Before Atlanta

At hospitals of 4th & 15th. corps. Met Chaplain[s] Smith & Ross⁷² of 4th. corps — good men. Talked with several rebel wounded.

At C[hristian] C[ommission] "fly". Rev. Sam'l Wolcott called — told of a rebel Colonel whose ruined home he had been in to in our lines. Found old papers there, among others a letter written early in 1861, from Convention of

⁷¹ Probably William M. Robinson. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, p. 1553.

⁷² Reverend Jno. B. Smith, 19th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and Reverend Randal Ross, 15th Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

Georgia that passed Secession Ordinance. He writes: "Georgia has seceded from the Union as easy as you please. I felt no shock." Now his home is a ruin & his fields a desolation!

Heavy showers this aft. with fearful thunder & lightning. A tree struck near tent of C[hristian] C[ommission].

About dark made out way to Col Remick's Quarters.

Mrs. George from Ind. in one Division Hospital of 15th. Corps.

Mr. Wolcott concurs as to the importance of putting sanitary stores into hands of medical officers & dispensing with so much machinery of sanitary agents, and that Christian C[ommission] s'd not add to the confusion of dealing in sanitary stores.

Monday, Aug. 1. Before Atlanta

3d. Division 17th. Corps.

sick 106

wounded 253

359

Talked with Rebel Col. wounded in left shoulder [on the] 22d, captured by Col. (Gen.) Bellnap, from Barbour Co., Ala. Born there — merchant, traded in New York, seemed dissatisfied with the Rebellion, but reticent — desirous of peace.

23 Corps moving to the Right — saw Gen. Schofield — stout & solid looking.

wrote letters for Jos. W. Hartwell to his Father, Marion, Ill. A second hemorrhage [sic] in his left arm makes his case very critical — pious & very thankful for my interest in him. wrote letters for 3 other soldiers.

Col. Remick struck his tent this morning & the Prisoners & soldiers tore down the house in which I had been sleeping for several nights & commenced erecting breastworks to

protect the left flank of the army. The fortifications are directly through the house. Head Quarters were moved $\frac{3}{4}$ ths. of a mile to the right in the deep woods. Soon after pitching his tent several shells from the enemy struck near it, one a 64 pounder, called by the boys, "camp-kettles", "blacksmith's shop." After this notice, Col. R[emick] moved his tent a little to the left.

Called on Gen. Stanley . . . had just heard of capture of Col. McCook & his cavalry (Brownlow only escaping with 500 by swimming a river.)

Gen. S[tanley] spoke in derogation of such raids in neighborhood of any large force of the enemy. Saw Chaplain Macy who was so long with Rosecrans, now an attache of Stanley — said he had but few opportunities for Divine Services — pleasant.

Gen. S[tanley] said, we should be in Atlanta in three days & that Sherman w'd scratch his head over the disaster to McCook. does not believe in Stoneman, thinks he will be captured & his command & that he is not competent to command a company. settled my acc't with Agent Critchfield for postage stamps — P'd Br. Pickett 3. for stamps (100) borrowed of him.

Tuesday, Aug. 2. Before Atlanta, Ga.

Tent fronts E. S. E. quiet in night — firing at right at daylight. 76 Regiment of Infantry, 7 Batteries of Artillery in 4th. Army Corps.

Brig. Gen. T. J. Wood, 3d. D[ivision] 4th. corps, a first rate officer & entitled to two stars. To be recommended to Senator Grimes.

Spoke to a white soldier belonging to Headquarters 4th. Corps from Alexandria, Virginia, who told me he c'd not read — had never been to school. also [spoke] to a black man who was with him from Washington D. C., who said he c'd not read, but his wife could & he was going to learn.

Wrote Sister Mary, Mrs. Salter & Mary, [and the] Hawk-eye.

Wednesday, Aug. 3. Before Atlanta, Ga.

very bright, clear morning. very hot middle of the day. shower in aft. & very cool.

Br. P[ickett] unwell in morning. I was still troubled with dysentery — took little whiskey, pod[ophyllum] & aconite, very miserable through the day. [Applied] wet bandages at night. the noxious odors of the hospitals have infected my system.

4th. Corps advanced their lines today but found the Rebels too strong & withdrew.

Atlanta was designated in 1832 by John C. Calhoun for capital of his southern Confederacy.

Thursday, Aug. 4. near Atlanta

A little whiskey this morning with nutmeg — ate some fried mush with molasses (maple). showery.

At 8 A. M. started out on Robert Cameron's grey horse in search of C[hristian] C[ommission] Tent which Mr. Critchfield said we s'd find near the Railroad Track. Our search was unavailing.

Rebels reported as assaulting 23d. corps while getting into position yesterday & repulsed.

79th. Ohio — 258 effective men — over 300 present. Lt. Col.⁷³ sick [with] dysentery. dined with Chaplain Stillwell⁷⁴ who wears a silver cross on each shoulder — polite — showed me with a glass Rebel fortifications & buildings of Atlanta — formerly Captain in the Regiment — Methodist.

⁷³ Probably Azariah W. Doane. — *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio*, Vol. VI, p. 399.

⁷⁴ James R. Stillwell. Age 30. Entered service August 17, 1862. Served three years. Mustered out with regiment, June 9, 1865. — *Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio*, Vol. VI, p. 399.

Dined with mess — Pork & Beans, Hard Tack, coffee — very rough. Started on return. met Mr. Critchfield who reported the Tent on the East Side of Railroad. Found 4th. Corps Headquarters in transit along the road. Col. R[emick] pitched his tent near former Headquarters of Sherman.

tired & slept well. much infested with jiggers.

Friday, Aug. 5. near Atlanta

Col. Remick procured an ambulance & we left from Vinings 8 miles at 8 A. M. over very rough ground. crossed Peach Tree Creek above battle ground of 20th. July.

Col. R[emick] & Mr. Rob[ert] Cameron have been very kind to us & made our stay as pleasant as they possibly could. Rob[ert] C[ameron] entrusted me with 200\$ for his mother & a letter for her.

At Vinings at 10½ [a. m.] warm. Jacob Owens, 57, born in S. C. reads but little, 6 children, 1 in Rebel army in Virginia, not heard from him since Christmas. He volunteered, aged 26. His children raised in the Factory at Rosewell at 6 to 8\$ per month.

John Henry Cobb, 10 years old, worked in the factory (cotton) at Rosewell for 10 cts. a day — has never been to school. His father was in the Rosewell Guard Co., Georgia Militia, got a furlough & staid at home, now chopping wood for the U. S. Railroad.

1400 in 23d. Corps Hospital [at] Marietta.

At Vinings Br. Pickett got me from the Sanitary C[ommission] few boiled potatoes (new) & soft crackers.

Rested waiting for cars till 2 P. M. when got a Government wagon (6 mules) of Stoneman's cavalry & rode to Marietta, roughly jolted & stirred, which we reached 5 P. M. The wagon master from S[outhern] Illinois told us of his work his wagons had done in woman-hauling, taking all the families within 5 miles of East side of Railroad to be sent North.

Found C[hristian] C[ommission] house in Marietta in better condition, with good negro woman for cook.

Saturday, Aug. 6. Marietta, Ga.

Rested. Brethren in better spirits. 20 boxes of stores rec'd this week. some 3000 sick & wounded in Hospital here.

10 Delegates here. Made up small package of "Gen. Howard's addresses" & left it at Commissary Blair's office to be forwarded to Col. Remick.

Many stores arrived in bad condition. cans busted — dried apples, moulded & rotten & goods stained. A woman greatly needed to preserve & save. Br. Pickett busy all day opening boxes.

Battle on the right. Our forces (23d & 14th. Corps) made an assault & were repulsed. Heard the heavy cannonading. heavy rain & terrific thunder & lighting.

Sunday, Aug. 7. Marietta, Ga.

Held Divine Service (about 15 minutes) in Hospital in Baptist Ch. of 16th. army corps. same hospital that I visited July 21. Some 60 soldiers, attentive. Thankful that I was able to do a little.

Pleasant sing in the evening with Brethren. Some hub-bub about a raid from Wheeler's cavalry.

Monday, Aug. 8. Marietta, Ga.

Town searched this morning for Rebel spies. good deal of excitement. One said to be a Rebel Major caught.

Br. Pickett bravely visited Kenesaw & Little Kenesaw & came back with glowing acc'ts of the scenery & extended landscape.

Mr. Field⁷⁵ (Agent) could not procure transportation for us this morning. Wrote Br. Ben[jamin], Paterson, [N. J.] Col. Remick called. no change at the front. Left Marietta

⁷⁵ Reverend Phineas E. Field, Charlemont, Mass.

2:30 P. M. on Freight car with Br. Pickett & McKee⁷⁶ (formerly capt. — wounded in side & shoulder at Stone River, going to Monmouth, Ill. to teach Preparatory School of U. P. College.

[Passed] By Kenesaw, Big Shanty, Altoona Mts., [and reached] Kingston [at] 7 P. M.

Br. Pickett brought specimen of cactus from Kenesaw Mt.

Left Marietta 2.30. Staid in car at Kingston until after midnight.

Tuesday, Aug. 9.

At Chattanooga at 10, 30 A. M. after very wearisome 20 hours in car — good company in Br. McKee, a sterling man. rested. at 3 P. M. rode over to Business Room of C[hristian] C[ommission] on Main St. distributed papers among a few soldiers — supplied 3 with Testaments — folded papers. rain. more comfortable & wholesome quarters in house at foot of hill where Bragg's Hospitals stand.

Wednesday, Aug. 10. Chattanooga

rain. wrote Mrs. S[alter].

Left Chattanooga 1:30 P. M. Mrs. Millspaugh (of Mt. Pleasant) brought me small block of Tenn. marble from Chattanooga.⁷⁷

At tunnel 8 P. M. Tedious all night ride.

Thursday, Aug. 11. Nashville

Reached Nashville 7 A. M. Found C[hristian] C[ommission] house in better condition. Misses Shelton called, who have charge of (Hospital No. 14) Light Diet Kitchen — happy & devoted to their work.

rested in morning — showers.

⁷⁶ Reverend Jno. McKee, Hamalton, Ohio.

⁷⁷ This entry may have been made some time after Mr. Salter reached home.

In aft. visited Capitol, magnificent for position, elevation, & structure. staircase of siennite, like the Aberdeen marble, though coarser. 8 pillars, 15 ft. round on each side. enjoyed reflections on changes which have taken place & the miscalculations of the Rebels.

Col. Mussey, son of Dr. Mussey of Cincinnati, of organization of colored troops, states to Mr. Pickett that the poor blacks take much better care of themselves & are more disposed to work than the poor whites. Of government rations issued . . . he reported the following

100 to 1000 blacks
1800 to 3500 whites

Friday, Aug. 12. Nashville.

called at Hospital No. 14 (formerly occupied by Elliot Female Seminary, a rich & popular school Methodist.)

The Diet Kitchen working very satisfactorily under the efficient management of the Miss Sheltons.

visited Photograph Gallery. 1.00

met Chaplain T. M. Goodfellow, formerly of Old Zion. Took tea at his house, 162 South Cherry st. Mrs. G. a good house Keeper. Br. G. happy & devoted to his work & determined to hold out to the end of the war.

Mosquitoes very annoying, called on a smoking brother to smoke them, which had a good effect.

called on Dr. Clendenin, Medical Director, friend of Mr. Pickett.

Saturday, Aug, 13, 1864. Nashville.

Left Nashville 7 A. M. At *Louisville* 5½ P. M. Country has enjoyed rain, & crops generally looking very much better than they did July 7. Thermometer 82° at 8 P. M. at Salt House. Took bath.

Mosquitoes & bad smells very annoying, c'd sleep but little — most miserable night since I have been in the field.

Business of C[hristian] C[ommission] in great need of efficient, business management.

Sunday, August 14, 1864. Louisville, Ky.

Held Divine Service 10 A. M. on Gunboat Victory, No. 33. Capt Reed.⁷⁸ Officers polite & attentive to service. Men (60) gathered on forecastle deck under awning. All very pleasant & cheering. Bible & Hymn Books distributed, & a large basket of papers etc. left. Mr. Hickett [?] & wife & Miss Bonton [?] in company. Mr. H. rowed us out to the boat lying up the river in the stream. Preached from Lu. 12:37.⁷⁹

At Brown Hospital 6 P. M. 3 miles S. E. 1200 sick & wounded. Chaplain Bowman [?] from near Rochester, New York, read Episcopal prayer in sing-song. good cabinet organ purchased by subscription by officers of Hospital. Band played.

A colored man rode me out in an express wagon — clever fellow — member of Baptist Ch[urch] — bought himself.

Met. Mrs. Underwood,⁸⁰ from Muscatine, near neighbor of A. B. Robbins, in charge of Diet Kitchen — happy & devoted in her work.

Mosquitoes very annoying. Thermometer 84° 9 P. M.

Monday, Aug. 15, 1864. Louisville, Ky.

wrote Rev. Mr. Boardman,⁸¹ Secy C[hristian] C[ommission] Philadelphia that I had spent 40 days in service, in Department of Cumberland, at Louisville, Nashville, Mur-

⁷⁸ Acting-Master Frederick Read. — Porter's *The Naval History of the Civil War* (1886), pp. 343, 811. There was also a Commander Abner Read.

⁷⁹ "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them."

⁸⁰ Mrs. Mary Underwood, of the Sanitary Commission, also served in hospitals at Brown, Louisiana.

⁸¹ Reverend W. E. Boardman. — Moss's *Annals of the United States Christian Commission*, pp. 122, 129, 137, 152, 172.

freesboro, Stevenson, Chattanooga, Tenn., Marietta, & . . . Vickery. Conducted 17 meetings, participated in 5 others, delivered 18 sermons & addresses — personally conversed with about 100 soldiers on their spiritual interest, benefited about 50 by personal ministration of stores, written 100 letters for soldiers, distributed 150 copies of Scriptures, 100 Hy[mn] Books, 50 Soldier's Books, 1500 pages of Tracts, 3000 papers, 100 pamphlets.

As full summary as I can give. I endeavored to keep daily records, but such [were] the multiplicity of labors & incidents & I was often so weary, that I failed to make complete memoranda. At the Front a painful lack of supplies & of facilities to Delegates in getting to their work. Some more efficient superintendence of your operations in the Field needed etc. etc. — W. S.

Left Louisville 11 A. M. on Steamer Gen. Buell — pleasant boat & delightful sail — beautiful scenery by moonlight — 150 miles. At Cincinnati 3½ A. M.

visited Spring Grove Cemetery — a charming place.

Generously entertained at Burnet House without charge.⁸² Called at C[hristian] C[ommission] Rooms, Vine St. Met Mr. Chidlaw.⁸³ Met Rev. J. M. Chamberlain⁸⁴ of Des Moines on his way from Boston to Sherman's army.

Passes to Indianapolis. Left Cincinnati Tuesday 4 P. M. arrived at Chicago 9 A. M. Wednesday. At home Wednesday evening (17th. August) at 8 P. M. *Laus Deo!*

⁸² Delegates were entertained at the Burnet House, Cincinnati, and the Lindell House, St. Louis, without charge. At Pittsburgh, they were provided with free meals at the Volunteers' Refreshment Rooms, opposite the railroad depot.

⁸³ Reverend B. W. Chidlaw, Cleveland, Ohio.

⁸⁴ Reverend Joshua M. Chamberlain (October, 1826 — November 11, 1897) came to Iowa in the fifties from West Brookfield, Mass., preached in Des Moines and Eddyville, located at Grinnell where he was editor of *The Grinnell Herald*. At various times he was secretary, treasurer, and librarian of Iowa College. — *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 318.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

From Canoe to Steel Barge on the Upper Mississippi. By Mildred L. Hartsough. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1934. Pp. 308. Plates, maps. This attractive volume, written and published for the Upper Mississippi Waterway Association, is a study of the river traffic on the Upper Mississippi from the coming of white men to the present. The introduction, by Charles C. Webber, gives a brief account of the two organizations which have promoted a renewal of river traffic — the Upper Mississippi Barge Line Company and the Upper Mississippi Waterway Association.

The chapter headings suggest the scope of the book — The White Man Comes, Pre-steamboat Days, Hail the Steamboat!, Early Towns and Traffic, The Golden Age, The Critical Years, The Men and Their Boats, Steamboating as a Business, Decadence, Can the River Come Back?, The Breath of Life, and The Story of Improvements. The volume as a whole presents a vivid picture of the river as a means of transportation and the effects of river activities on the life of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Seventeen illustrations and three maps add to the interest and value of the book, which is dedicated to Senator Henrik Shipstead. A bibliography, notes, and an index are included.

A Tory in the Northwest, by Walter R. Hoberg, is one of the articles in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January.

Illinois Travel in Olden Times, by Carlton J. Corliss, is one of the articles in the consolidated issue of *The Journal of American History* for 1934.

The Correlation of State and National History, by Asa E. Martin, is one of the articles in the January issue of the *Arizona Historical Review*.

Dorothea Dix and Social Reform in Western Pennsylvania, 1845-1875, by Marion Hathway, is one of the articles in *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for December, 1934.

The Need for a Comprehensive Checklist Bibliography of American State Publications, by A. F. Kuhlman, has been reprinted from *The Library Quarterly* for January, 1935.

The Bulletin of The New York Public Library continues the series of *Letters of Eliab Parker Mackintire, of Boston, 1845-1863, To the Reverend William Salter, of Burlington, Iowa*, in the numbers for November and December, 1934. These letters are edited by Philip Dillon Jordan.

Mid-America for January contains the following articles: *The Frontier Hypothesis: A Corollary*, by W. Eugene Shiels; *The Onondaga Mission*, by Thomas F. O'Connor; *A Catholic Newspaper Woman and Novelist of the Pioneer West*, by Grace McDonald; and *George Washington, Man of Character*, by Gilbert J. Garaghan.

Administrative Legislation and Adjudication, by Frederick F. Blackly and Miriam E. Oatman, has recently been issued as *Studies in Administration*, No. 29, by the Brookings Institution. This is a study of the administrative, legislative, and judicial powers of commissions, the number of which has increased rapidly. The Federal government alone has some sixty different administrative tribunals whose decisions affect private rights.

Lee Burns is the author of *Early Architects and Builders of Indiana*, which was recently published by the Indiana Historical Society as number three of volume eleven of its *Publications*. One of the illustrations in this number is a "freestanding circular stairway" in one of the older houses very similar to the one in the Old Capitol at Iowa City.

The United States Department of Agriculture has issued revised editions of three bulletins — *References on the History of Agriculture in the United States*, dated September, 1934, *References on Agricultural History as a Field of Research and Study*, dated No-

vember, 1934, and *A List of American Economic Histories*, dated September, 1934, all by Everett E. Edwards.

Volume VIII of the *Norwegian — American Studies and Records* has recently been published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. It was edited by Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society. Among the articles included are *Norwegian-Americans and Wisconsin Politics in the Forties*, by Bayrd Still, and *The Emigrant Journey in the Fifties*, by Karl E. Erickson, edited by Albert O. Barton.

Agricultural History for October, 1934, contains the following articles: *The Immigrant Church and the Patrons of Husbandry*, by O. Fritiof Ander; *The Agricultural Revolution in the Prairies and Great Plains of the United States*, by Louis Bernard Schmidt; *A Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Ulrich Bonnell Phillips*, by Fred Landon and Everett E. Edwards; and *John Pitkin Norton's Visit to England, 1844*, by Robert W. Hill.

The Minnesota Historical Society has recently issued, as Volume II of its *Narratives and Documents*, a volume entitled *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm 1858-1865*, edited by Arthur J. Larsen. Mrs. Swisshelm, an early advocate of equal suffrage and opponent of slavery, spent several years in Minnesota. Iowa women may be interested to hear that in 1872 she delivered a lecture on suffrage in the hall of the House of Representatives at Des Moines.

The United States Government Printing Office has recently published three volumes of a series entitled *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. The first volume is in a preliminary form. It contains the introduction, a chronological list of Territories of the United States, and a list of the Territorial officials of all Territories from 1789 to 1872. The second and third volumes are in final form and contain the papers relating to the Northwest Territory.

The Panic of 1819 in Missouri, by Dorothy B. Dorsey; *The First Roads West of the Mississippi*, by Ida M. Schaaf; *The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier (1830-1860)*, Part IV, by

Carle Brooks Spotts; and *The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri*, Part IV, by Ruby Johnson Swartzlow, are the four articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* for January. Under the general title *Missouriana* there are stories of "Peg-leg" Shannon, *The Hound Dog Song*, *Territorial Judges of Missouri*, *Topics in Missouri History*, and *Advertisements in the Pioneer Press*.

The *Journal of The Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.* for June, 1934, contains sketches of the career of Sheldon Jackson, by J. Ross Stevenson and Lewis S. Mudge. Sheldon Jackson was a pioneer missionary in the West. A monument to him and two others stands on Prospect Hill near Sioux City. *A Chapter from the Religious History of Western Pennsylvania*, by Gains Jackson Slosser, is one of the articles in the issue for September, 1934. *The Foundations of Our Western Zion*, by Thos. C. Pears, Jr., is one of the articles in the issue for December, 1934.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for December, 1934, contains the following articles and papers: *Dunmore's War: An Interpretation*, by Randolph C. Downes; *The Slave Trade Between Kentucky and the Cotton Kingdom*, by Thomas D. Clark; *Colorado's Revolt Against Capitalism*, by Leon W. Fuller; *Woodrow Wilson — Historian*, by Marjorie L. Daniel; *Franklin is Informed of Clark's Activities in the Old Northwest*, translated and edited by Lewis J. Carey; *Ohio's Legislative Attack upon Abolition Schools*, by Clayton S. Ellsworth; and *Reconstruction on the Lower Mississippi*, edited by John D. Barnhart.

The Folsom Point Controversy, by Herbert W. Kuhm; *The George A. West Pipe Monograph*, by W. C. McKern; *The Brule-St. Croix Postage Trail*, by Charles E. Brown; *Perforated Skulls, An Inquiry*, by W. B. Hinsdale; *A New Problematical Artifact*, by Anton W. Sohrweide; *Mandoka*, by Vina Sherwood Adams; *To Check Vandalism in Arizona*, by Edward Page Gaston; and *A Forgotten Tree Ring Record*, by Warren K. Moorehead, are the articles and papers in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for November, 1934. The January issue contains an account of the George A. West testi-

monial meeting, held at the Milwaukee Public Museum on November 19, 1934.

Daniel Boone, 1734-1934, by Samuel M. Wilson; *The Daniel Boone Bicentennial Commission of Kentucky and Its Activities, 1934*, by Otto A. Rothert; *Boone's Station*, by Willard Rouse Jillson; *John D. Shane's Interview with Ephraim Sandusky*, prepared for publication by Lucien V. Rule; and *Two Letters Pertaining to the Zachary Taylor Monument Erected in 1883*, copied by Otto A. Rothert, are the papers and articles in *The Filson Club History Quarterly* for October, 1934. *Some Recent Finds Regarding The Ancestry of General George Rogers Clark*, by R. C. Ballard Thruston; *Richard Callaway, Kentucky Pioneer*, by Charles W. Bryan, Jr.; and *Browsing in Our Archives: Three Letters by Henry Clay*, by Otto A. Rothert, are the three articles in the issue for January.

Chicago and Abraham Lincoln, by Blaine Brooks Gernon; *The Prairie Hen*, by Philip D. Jordan; *Benjamin Darnell, Fort Darnell, and Early Settlers of Marshall County*, by C. A. Darnell, and *The Southern Illinois College*, by Richard Lawrence Beyer, are the articles in the *Journal of The Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1934. It contains also a note on the reprints of the *Ulster County Gazette*, for January 4, 1800. *The Peoria and Galena Trail and Coach Road and the Peoria Neighborhood*, by Percival Graham Rennick; *The Indigenous Iron Industry of Illinois*, by Aubrey Starke; and *Congregationalism in Jacksonville and Early Illinois*, by Frank J. Heinl, are the three articles in the January, 1935, number.

The January number of *The American Historical Review* contains the following articles and papers: *The Emergence of the First Social Order in the United States*, by William E. Dodd; *The Influence of Irish Monks on Merovingian Diocesan Organization*, by Helen Robbins Bittermann; and *Fur Trade Strategy and the American Left Flank in the War of 1812*, by Julius W. Pratt. H. N. Fieldhouse contributes *A Note on the Negotiations for the Peace of Utrecht* and Theodore C. Pease presents *The Mississippi Boundary of 1763: a Reappraisal of Responsibility*. Under Documents Thomas Robson Hay, II, contributes *John C. Calhoun and*

the Presidential Campaign of 1824: Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters.

The Chicago Historical Society has begun the publication of a series, entitled *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society*, edited by Douglas C. McMurtrie. The first number was issued in November, 1934. It contains *Some Letters of Edward Coles Second Governor of Illinois; Books and Pamphlets Printed in Chicago, 1835-1850*, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; and *Ordinances of the Village and Town of Chicago*. The second number includes Lincoln's *Visits to Chicago*, by Blaine Brooks Gernon; *The Lincoln Rooms; A Letter of James Herrington Written from Chicago in 1831*; and a continuation of *Books and Pamphlets Printed in Chicago, 1835-1850*, by Douglas C. McMurtrie.

The Wabash and Erie Canal at Lafayette, by William M. Reser; *High Points in the Life of Dr. John Shaw Billings*, by Thomas Jefferson Griffith; *Post Roads in Southern Indiana*, by George E. Amick; *Did Republicans "Colonize" Indiana in 1879?*, by John G. Van Deusen; *A Survivor of "The Charge of the Light Brigade"*, by Julia Le Clerc Knox; *Henry Clay at Richmond in 1842*, by Leonard S. Kenworthy; and *The Discovery and Identification of an Original Copy of the Constitution of 1816*, by Christopher B. Coleman, are the articles and papers in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for December, 1934. Under *Documents* there are *Some Letters of Jesse D. Bright to William H. English (1842-1863)*.

The Winter Number of the *Michigan History Magazine* includes the following articles and papers: *Gabriel Richard and the University of Michigan*, by Shelby B. Schurtz; *Our Pioneer Mothers*, by Mrs. Seymour Foster; *The Late Charles W. Garfield*, by E. A. Stowe; *Extracts from the Diary of William C. King, A Detroit Carpenter, in 1832*, by Fred Landon; *Pere Marquette*, by Thomas A. E. Weadock; *William H. Seward in the Campaign of 1860, With Special Reference to Michigan*, by T. Maxwell Collier; *Charles W. Bennett, Lay Philosopher*, by Charles M. Perry; *Outline of the Economic History of Alma, Michigan, Prior to 1900*, by Arthur Weimer; *Message of Stevens T. Mason, Jan. 12, 1835*; and an address by Mrs. Russell William Magna.

Reminiscences of My Sailor Days, by L. W. Burch; a sixth installment of *James R. Doolittle*, by James L. Sellers; and the eleventh chapter of the *Memoirs of William George Bruce* are the contributions in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September, 1934. Under *Documents* there appears a missionary journal by Father Anthony Maria Gachet, under the title *Five Years in America*, and some letters written by Wm. N. Gardner. The issue for December, 1934, contains the following papers and articles: *Old Fort Howard*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *Early Day Architects in Wisconsin*, by Alexander Carl Guth; *Reminiscences of My Sailor Days*, by L. W. Burch; and *James R. Doolittle* (Ch. VII), by James L. Sellers. Documents include *The Personality of Lincoln*; *Five Years in America*, a missionary journal of 1859; and the *Gardner Letters*, written in Wisconsin in 1837. Under *Editorial Comment*, Joseph Schafer contributes *The Horicon Dam Question*.

Minnesota History for September, 1934, contains the following papers and articles: *American Indian Contributions to Civilization*, by Everett E. Edwards; *The Pond Brothers*, by Theodore C. Blegen; *The Old Crossing Chippewa Treaty and Its Sequel*, by Ella Hawkinson; *A New Englander in the West, Letters of Eben Weld, 1845-50*; *The State Historical Convention of 1934*; and *The Radisson Problem*, by Arthur T. Adams. *The Army and the Westward Movement* by Edgar B. Wesley; *A Buffalo and Elk Hunt in 1842*, by Henry H. Sibley; *Memories of Fort Snelling in Civil War Days*, by Mary J. Newson; *The Rock Island Railroad Excursion in 1854*, by William J. Petersen; *Negroes and the Fur Trade*, by Kenneth W. Porter; and *A Diphtheria Epidemic in the Early Eighties*, by LeRoy G. Davis, are the articles in the issue for December, 1934. Under the heading, *Some Sources for Northwest History*, Willoughby M. Babcock writes of *Cataloguing Pictorial Source Material* and Esther Jerabek discusses *Almanacs as Historical Sources*.

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A Pioneer Medical Society, by John L. Sanders, is a short article in the *Iowa and Illinois Central District Medical Association Quarterly Bulletin*, Volume I, No. 1, October, 1934.

A History of Medicine in Jefferson County, Iowa, by James Frederic Clarke, is an historical item in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for December, 1934, and January and February, 1935.

The Autobiographies of an Iowa Father and Son, by Caleb Forbes Davis and James Cox Davis, and William Salter's "*My Ministry in Iowa, 1843-1846*", edited by Philip D. Jordan, are the two articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for January.

The Woman's Relief Corps has recently issued a history of the Department of Iowa covering the years 1884 to 1934. The volume includes pictures of the department presidents and commanders and much data concerning the organization.

A short history of Council Bluffs in mimeographed form has been prepared for the Council Bluffs schools by Doris Killins, Alice Lenz, and Elsie Wild. The material includes excerpts from the papers of N. P. Dodge and D. C. Bloomer. An unusual feature of the compilation is *The Water Supply of Council Bluffs, Iowa*, by Helen Ruth Montague.

Iowa Newspapers Glean Pioneer Stories To Lighten Task of Historians in Future, by Edward F. Mason, is one of the articles in *The Iowa Publisher* for January. This deals largely with the "Genealogical Department" in some Iowa papers including the one by Mrs. C. A. Speer in the *Washington Evening Journal* and *Washington Democrat*, by Mrs. F. R. Porter in the *Grinnell Herald*, by Miss Amanda Elliott in the *Knoxville Express*, and by Mrs. Vera Mae Ivers in the *Dallas County News*.

Contemporary Iowa Poets has been recently printed by The Prairie Press of Muscatine, Iowa. It contains the following poems: *Smoke of Twilight*, by L. Dale Ahern; *Obit Anus: Abit Onus*, by David Fuller Ash; *Birthday Ode for Edwin Markham*, by Marion Louise Bliss; *Shadows and Exorcism*, by Roslyn Brogue; *Root-bound*, by Martha Ellen Crum; *Heidelberg Aufgang*, by Pauline Lewelling Devitt; *Good-bye to Vic, 1960: The Last War*, and *Among These Dead*, by Thomas W. Duncan; *Indian Pinks*, by Margaret Durant; *On Seeing Your Picture as a Child, November*,

and *On The Inland River*, by Jay Du Von; *Overmantle*, by Don Farran; *Stone City, 1932*, by Mildred Fowler Field; *Decision before Battle*, by Virgil Geddes; *Loneliness*, by Marguerite Gode; *Clover Swaths* and *Fall Ploughing*, by James Hearst; *Interim*, by Gernie Hunter; *Chiaroscuro* and *Mid-July*, by Grace Hunter; *Silence After Early Frost*, by Herbert Arthur Krause; *Mortgage Sale*, *Men in Concrete*, *Realists*, and *To the Will*, by Raymond Kresensky; *Spring in Arlington*, by Ruth Lechlitner; *Never the End*, by Lou Mallory Luke; *Shakespeare in Iowa*, by Ruth Messenger; *Signal and Farewell* and *Threshing in 1912*, by Charles Brown Nelson; *Pilgrimage*, by Edwin Ford Piper; *Mary Agnes* and *Illusion*, by Janet Piper; *Entreaty*, by Louise Propst; *Pigeons*, by Charlotte Radsliff; *A Gallery of Poets* and *Cimon to His Son*, by Wilbur Lang Schramm; *Mountain Girl's Lullaby*, by Sadie Seagrave; *Sea Gulls Follow a Plow* and *First-born*, by Jay G. Sigmund; *Out from Lynn*, by Lewis Worthington Smith; *Cleopatra*, by Mrs. L. Worthington Smith; *Immortality* and *Abece-darian*, by Jewell Bothwell Tull; *Willie of the Brickyard*, *The Boy and the Plow*, and *Pastel*, by Marion Van Laningham; *Francis Thompson*, by James B. Weaver; *Note to the Sorry Hunters*, by Margaret Weirick; *Time's Twilight*, *Woover's Words*, and *Agnostic*, by Roland A. White; and *Simple Things*, by Earle Wycoff.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

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Welcome Home, Hal! (Ladies' Home Journal, September, 1934).

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Ashton, J. W.,

Old Songs for New (The Palimpsest, December, 1934).

Becker, Carl Lotus,

In Support of the Constitution (The Nation, January 2, 1935).

- Beer, Thomas,
Anniversarial (The Saturday Evening Post, October 6, 1934).
Conduct of a Grandfather, 1898 (American Mercury, November, 1934).
Cousin Judith (The Saturday Evening Post, December 29, 1934).
- Bierring, Walter L.,
The Standards of Medical Education and Qualifications for Licensure (The American Law School Review, December, 1934).
- Blackmar, Beatrice, (Mrs. Bruce Gould) (Joint author)
Knock-Out (The Saturday Evening Post, December 22, 1934).
Slick (The Saturday Evening Post, November 17, 1934).
- Bordwell, Percy,
Equity and the Law of Property (Iowa Law Review, November, 1934).
- Burgess, Robert Louis,
Farming: A Variety of Religious Experience (American Review, October, 1934).
- Carver, Thomas Nixon,
The Essential Factors of Social Revolution. Cambridge: Harvard Press. 1935.
- Christensen, Thomas Peter,
The Discovery and Re-Discovery of America. Cedar Rapids (Laurence Press Company): Privately printed. 1934.
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- Clark, Charles Badger,
 "Small Town . . ." (poem) (Rotarian, November, 1934).
- Coleman, Carroll D., (Editor)
Contemporary Iowa Poets. Muscatine, Iowa: Prairie Press. 1935.
- Crowell, Grace Noll,
Early Evening (poem) (Parents' Magazine, December, 1934).

- Eternal Values* (poem) (Good Housekeeping, July, 1934).
Let Us Go Even Unto Bethlehem (poem) (Good Housekeeping, December, 1934).
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- Father Speaks His Mind* (The Delineator, November, 1934).

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Dysinger, Wendell S., (Joint author)

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- Knock-Out* (The Saturday Evening Post, December 22, 1934).
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- Hathaway, Esse Virginia,
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- Horn, Ernest,
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- Houlette, William I.,
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- Irwin, Orvis C., (Joint author)
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SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

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Monroe was platted in Jefferson County ninety-six years ago, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, August 27, 1934.

Benjamin W. Cook, near Moravia, is one hundred years old, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, August 27, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Alva C. Hobart, in the *Cherokee Times*, August 27, 1934.

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Sketch of the life of C. W. Carter, in the *Grinnell Herald*, August 28, 1934.

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Historical facts concerning the lake region, furnished from letters of Orlando C. Howe, by F. I. Herriott, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, August 30, 1934.

Cottonwood United Brethren Church was incorporated in 1842, in the *Wayland News*, August 30, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Herschel M. Hogg, in the *Indianola Record*, August 31, 1934.

Stories from the history of Pilotburg, in the *Washington Journal*, September 4, 1934.

Sketch of the life of George Bernatz, in the *Decorah Journal*, September 5, 1934.

Mrs. Nancy Burgess of Thayer is ninety-seven years old, in the *Creston News Advertiser*, September 5, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Edward Fourt, in the *Waukon Democrat*, September 5, 1934.

The social and cultural background of Cedar County, by Dorothy C. Harrington, in the *West Branch Times*, September 6, 1934.

Reminiscences of Van Buren County, by Mrs. Bess Israel, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, September 6, 1934.

Extracts from letters written by J. W. Denison, in the *Denison Review*, September 6, 1934.

Towns and taxes of early Iowa, in the *Waverly Journal*, September 6, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Byron W. Newberry, in the *Clayton County (Strawberry Point) Press-Journal*, September 6, and the *Oelwein Register*, September 7, 1934.

Lincoln owned land in Iowa, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, September 6, and the *Washington Journal*, September 7, 1934.

O. O. Volkerts was born in the Old Stone House at Clinton, in the *Clinton Herald*, September 7, 1934.

Flower Island, in the Missouri River, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 9, 1934.

John H. Ruble was first Methodist preacher to die in Iowa, by R. E. Harvey, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 9, and the *Mt. Pleasant News*, September 18, 1934.

The robbery of the county treasury of Buchanan County, by Paul G. Miller, in the *Independence Conservative*, September 12, 1934.

Sketch of the life of George W. Shadle, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, September 13, 1934.

Mastodon tusk found near Denison, in the *Denison Bulletin*, September 13, the *Harlan Republican* and the *Battle Creek Times*, September 20, and the *Mt. Ayr Record-News*, September 27, 1934.

Diary of George A. Madden, in the *Villisca Review*, September 14, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Benjamin B. Clark, in the *Red Oak Sun*, September 14, 1934.

Cholera in Brighton, in the *Washington Journal*, September 15, 1934.

Many old trees in Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, September 16, 1934.

Iowa was designated as part of Oregon territory on map of 1825, in the *Davenport Democrat*, September 16, 1934.

The story of Cass Lake, in the *Peterson Patriot*, September 19, 1934.

Old Zion, where first Iowa legislature met, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, September 18, 1934.

Old documents in walls of Marshall County's first courthouse, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, September 19, 1934.

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"Uncle Jimmy Dickerson", by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 19, 27, 1934.

Blue Point and other historic places in Poweshiek County, by W. G. Ray, in the *Grinnell Herald*, September 21, 1934.

Fort Atkinson recalls early history of Iowa, by Carl Gartner, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 23, 1934.

The Panora high school, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 25, 1934.

Early history of Mt. Pleasant, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, September 25, 27, 1934.

Burial place of General Joseph M. Street and Chief Wapello, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 26, 1934.

The State University of Iowa inaugurates Eugene A. Gilmore as its thirteenth president, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, October 3, the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, October 4, and the *Washington Journal*, October 6, 1934.

First Methodist Episcopal Church at Algona, in the *Kossuth County (Algona) Advance*, October 4, 1934.

Early days at Belle Plaine, by John Q. Hutton, in the *Belle Plaine Union*, October 4, 1934.

Discovery of the source of the Des Moines River, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, October 4, 1934.

Indian names for Iowa rivers, by E. R. Harlan, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, October 5, 1934.

Indian pow wow at Tama is a very old ceremonial, in the *Center-ville Iowegian*, October 6, 1934.

When the name of Montana was changed to Boone, in the *Boone News-Republican*, October 6, 1934.

C. A. Snow and Arthur Holbrook find skull of prehistoric musk ox in gravel pit south of Polk City, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, October 9, 1934.

Sixtieth anniversary of the Lutheran Church at Fertile, in the *Northwood Anchor and Index*, October 11, 1934.

John Potratz of Sumner has German Bible published in 1670, in the *Sumner Gazette*, October 11, 1934.

Early newspapers at Mt. Pleasant were printed by hand, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, October 11, 1934.

Sketch of life of Frederick Knight Logan, by G. Perle Schmidt, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 14, 1934.

Old party games, by Stanley Heggen, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 14, 1934.

Early day history of Sioux City told by Mrs. Ralph Henderson, in the *Sioux City Journal*, October 14, 1934.

How Iowa towns were named, by Elizabeth Clarkson Zwart, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 14, 1934.

Meteors fell at Estherville on May 10, 1879, in the *Estherville Republican*, October 16, 1934.

Sketch of the life of W. H. H. Barker, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* and the *Ottumwa Courier*, October 17, and the *Keokuk Gate City*, October 19, 1934.

Lewis Youngers recalls winter of 1882, in the *Sheldon Mail*, October 17, 1934.

David W. Pressly recalls Iowa events, in the *Indianola Herald*, October 18, 1934.

Items in the county archives of Warren County, in the *Indianola Herald*, October 18, 1934.

Mt. Pleasant was a station on the Underground Railroad, in the *Mt. Pleasant Free Press*, October 18, 1934.

Early Iowa and its ridge roads, by Arthur Goshorn, in the *Winter-set News*, October 18, 25, 1934.

First Baptist Church in Iowa was organized near Danville in October, 1834, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, October 19, the

Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette, October 20, and the *Des Moines Register*, October 22, 1934.

Beulah Methodist Episcopal Church is forty-nine years old, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, October 20, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Dr. M. N. Voldeng, in the *Cherokee Times* and the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle*, October 22, 1934.

Teacher's certificate of 1862 found at Centerville, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, October 22, 1934.

George Haskin remembers when the Burlington Railroad used wood in engines, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, October 22, 1934.

T. G. Hamilton, curator of the Union County Historical Society, wants information on pioneer mills of Afton, in the *Afton Star-Enterprise*, October 25, 1934.

Daniel Swearingen and family died in prairie fire in 1860, in the *Nevada Journal*, October 25, 1934.

Gunder Johnson is one hundred and one years old, in the *Ames Tribune* and the *Keokuk Gate City*, October 27, and the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, October 30, 1934.

Sketch of the life of John Francis Rague, by M. M. Hoffmann, in the *Dubuque Herald*, October 28, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Henry W. Grout, in the *Waterloo Courier*, October 29, 1934.

Sketch of the life of E. M. McCall, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle*, October 29, and the *Ames Tribune*, October 30, 1934.

Iowa oddities, in the *Sioux City Tribune*, October 30, 1934.

Jenkins mill wheel remains at Estherville, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, October 30, 1934.

Abandoned towns in Story County, in the *Roland Record*, October 31, 1934.

Iowa pioneers launched packing industry by establishing hog killing plants, in *Clinton Herald*, October 31, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Emily Hanna George, third white child born in Black Hawk County, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, October 31, 1934.

Recollections of north Iowa in 1876, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, October 31, 1934.

Sketch of the life of W. J. Shuck, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, October 31, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Knut Gjerset, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, November 1, 1934.

Early Iowa Falls buildings, by F. E. Foster, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen*, November 1, 1934.

Old mill wheel at Estherville, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, November 1, 1934.

Old mills near Afton, in the *Afton Star-Enterprise*, November 1, 1934.

Indian relics collected by Frank Rouse, in the *Chariton Herald-Patriot*, November 1, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Dr. John E. Stout, in the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye-Record*, November 1, 1934.

Contributions of Bohemians to history of Tama County, by W. W. Gaston, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, November 2, 1934.

Sioux City as it looked to a man from the east fifty years ago, in the *Sioux City Journal*, November 4, 1934.

Changes in Iowa industries, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, November 5, 1934.

Sketch of the life of J. B. Gowdey, in the *Dexter Sentinel*, November 7, 1934.

The old covered bridge over North River, near Winterset, by Arthur Goshorn, in the *Winterset News*, November 8, 1934.

How Corwith got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, November 8, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Fred DuCane, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 12, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Pauline Given Swalm, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, November 13, and the *Oskaloosa Herald*, November 14, 1934.

Early Butler County history, in the *Allison Tribune*, November 14, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Henry C. Taylor, in the *Bloomfield Democrat*, November 15, 1934.

An early swindle in Boone County, in the *Madrid Register-News*, November 15, 1934.

Hardships endured by Joseph Bancroft, told by Roger Leavitt, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, November 15, 1934.

W. W. Kirk of Fertile, Iowa, said to be the oldest man in Iowa, in the *Reinbeck Courier*, November 16, 1934.

How Rockford received its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, November 16, 1934.

Indian relics found near Amana, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, November 16, 1934.

James Matier still lives in building used as a tavern during gold rush, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, November 17, and the *Newton News*, December 13, 1934.

How Irvington was named, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, November 17, 1934.

Sketch of the life of August A. Balluff, former Scott County clerk and legislator, in the *Davenport Democrat*, November 19, 1934.

Career of Captain Hugh McKenzie, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, November 20, and the *Fort Madison Democrat*, November 21, 1934.

- Muscatine once issued paper money, in the *Muscatine Journal*, November 21, 1934.
- Three persons in Emmet County were frozen to death in 1873, in *Estherville News*, November 21, 1934.
- Early Fremont County history, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, November 24, 1934.
- Early churches fathered education in Iowa, by R. E. Harvey, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 25, 1934.
- Sketch of life of G. Watson French, in the *Davenport Democrat* and the *Des Moines Register*, November 28, 1934.
- Robert M. Littler and the dairy industry, in the *Davenport Democrat*, November 28, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Roland B. Rowley, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, November 29, 1934.
- Is there a grave on Pilot Mound, by H. L. Taylor, in the *Winnebago* (Forest City) *Republican*, November 29, 1934.
- The Merriam family at Hopkinton, by Gertrude White, in the *Hopkinton Leader*, November 29, 1934.
- Indian collection on Burroughs farm near Cedar Valley, by Virginia Maxson, in the *Tipton Constitution*, November 29, 1934.
- Ruth Irish Preston tells of early Iowa and Davenport history, in the *Davenport Times*, December 1, 1934.
- The burial place of Ansel Briggs, in the *Muscatine Journal*, December 1, 1934.
- How Wesley got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 1, 1934.
- Sketch of the life of Judge O. D. Wheeler, in the *Glenwood Opinion Tribune*, December 3, and the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, December 23, 1934.
- Did buffalo once live in Dallas County, by Frank M. Hoeye, in the *Dallas County* (Adel) *News*, December 5, 1934.

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Recollections of north Iowa, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 5, 1934.

Sidney was named by Richards family, in the *Shenandoah Gazette*, December 6, 1934.

The Gerhart Light Artillery of Marshalltown, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, December 6, 1934.

Deer hunt of sixty-seven years ago recalled, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, December 6, 1934.

The naming of Iowa, by Benj. F. Shambaugh, in the *Knoxville Journal*, December 6, 1934.

The Indians of Iowa, by Irving B. Richman, in the *Knoxville Journal*, December 6, 1934.

Early Brighton reminiscenses, by C. C. Heacock, in the *Washington Journal*, December 8, 1934.

Pence Grove United Brethren Church will be torn down, by E. M. Kisner, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 8, 1934.

How Nashua got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 10, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Wells W. Wood, in the *Independence Conservative*, December 12, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Gisle Bothne, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, December 13, 1934.

Benjamin F. Speer, Lincoln guard, dies at Indianola, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 13, 1934.

Sketch of the life of William L. Harding, by Cliff Millen, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, December 17, the *Washington Journal*, December 20, the *Sioux City Tribune*, December 21, and the *Sioux City Journal*, December 22, 1934.

Iowa's eighty-eighth anniversary of statehood, by William Atherton Du Puy, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, December 17, the *Tripoli Leader*, December 26, the *Clinton Herald*, December 27, and the *Mt. Pleasant News*, December 31, 1934.

The death of Milton Lott, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, December 18, 1934.

Early residents of Franklin Township, by J. C. Harvey, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, December 18, 1934.

When Iowa had a Slaughter County (now Washington), by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 19, and the *Washington Journal*, December 27, 1934.

The story of Red Rock, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 20, 1934.

Sketch of the life of George C. Call, in the *Kossuth County (Algona) Advance*, December 20, 1934.

1854 was a good crop year, in the *Madrid Register-News*, December 20, 1934.

An Indian battleground near Algona, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 21, 1934.

Otto Gerhardt of Davenport owns coat worn by General Custer, by Chas. W. Daly, in the *Davenport Democrat*, December 23, 1934.

Sketch of the life of Lars J. Skromme, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, December 24, 1934, and the *Nevada Journal*, January 3, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Judge Fergus L. Anderson, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 26, 28, 1934.

James B. Weaver, an Iowa poet, by Lou Mallory Luke, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 26, 1934.

Contributions to the history of Lamoni, in the *Lamoni Chronicle*, December 27, 1934.

How Woden got its name, in the *Titonka Topic*, December 27, 1934.

The naming of Spillville, in the *Shell Rock News*, December 27, 1934.

When the Mormons crossed Iowa in 1846, by H. D. Parlee, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, January 3, 1935.

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The Eldora Railroad and Coal Company became part of the Minneapolis and St. Louis road, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger*, January 3, 1935.

James boys robbed train in Iowa, in the *Shenandoah Gazette*, January 10, 1935.

The story of John A. Thomas, pioneer, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, January 10, 1935.

Life in Iowa in early days told by James Stewart in letter to his son George W. Stewart, in the *Sioux City Tribune*, January 10, 1935.

Spanish land grants in Iowa, by H. D. Parlee, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, January 10, 1935.

Sketch of the life of M. D. Peebler, born at Fort Madison on February 9, 1837, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle*, January 15, and the *Fairfield Ledger*, January 22, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Horace Mann, of Irvington, Iowa, in the *Algona Republican*, January 17, 1935.

Mound builders of Van Buren County, by H. D. Parlee, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, January 17, 1935.

Stories of early Dubuque, by E. L. Goff, in the *Centerville Iowegian & Citizen*, January 18, 1935.

Selections from the 1857 diary of Geo. A. Madden, in the *Villisca Review*, January 18, 1935.

Davenport's first seal, in the *Davenport Times*, January 18, 1935.

Last of Singmaster buffalo herd at Washington sold for meat, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, January 19, 1935.

The construction of the Old Capitol, at Iowa City, by Louis Pelzer, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, January 20, 1935.

History of Henry County railroads, by Wm. Van Allen, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, January 22, and the *Mt. Pleasant Free Press*, January 24, 1935.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Illinois State Historical Society held an Illinois Day program at Springfield on December 3, 1934. The speaker was Lane K. Newberry, an artist, whose subject was "20,000 Miles in Illinois Painting Historic Spots".

The Missouri Historical Society held a meeting at the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis on February 26, 1935. The speaker was Dr. Kate L. Gregg, and her subject was "Bellefontaine, The First Fort West of the Mississippi".

A new Lincoln collection was opened at the University of Chicago on November 14, 1934. It is housed in the Harper Library and includes purchases from the collections of William E. Barton, O. H. Oldroyd, and Alexander Hannah. Other Lincoln collections are those of the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield, the Library of Congress, Brown University, the Huntington Library of California, and the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company at Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The Sixteenth Annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 7 and 8, 1934. One of the features of the first day was the dedication of the new State Library and Historical Building. The dedication program included an address by George B. Utley of the Newberry Library, the presentation of the building by Herbert P. Kenney, and the acceptance by Governor Paul V. McNutt. Other features of the program were a genealogical round table and an archaeological session. Theodore C. Pease gave an address on peace negotiations in the northwest. A number of mural paintings by J. Scott Williams are part of the decorations of the building.

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The Harrison County Historical Society has been given a wooden mull plow, the gift of Clay Mefford. The plow was brought to Iowa in 1850.

Mrs. John Robinson, department historian of the Woman's Relief Corps, has recently compiled a history of that organization in Iowa for the past fifty years.

A number of historical items have been presented to the Ida County Historical Society. Among them were two old rifles, presented by John Holder and Frank Stephan.

The Howard County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Cresco on January 14, 1935. The following officers were elected: Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth, president; J. H. Howe, vice president; C. J. Harlan, secretary; and William Kellow, treasurer. W. H. Tillson gave a paper on "Our Early Inhabitants".

The Pottawattamie County Historical Society is planning the erection of a log cabin as headquarters for the society and a museum for historical relics. FERA labor will be used for the construction. Mr. O. J. Pruitt of Council Bluffs is curator. The society also plans a marker for the site near Crescent, Iowa, where four companies of dragoons spent the winter of 1824-1825.

Mrs. A. V. Weidel gave a review of the early history of Sioux City and the vicinity before the Woodbury County Pioneer Club on December 8, 1934. Robert Hunter was the speaker on January 13, 1935. His subject was "Frontier Training". On January 26, 1935, Dr. C. B. Knowles gave a talk before the same club on the subject, "Pictures That Hang on Memory's Wall".

Jasper County has organized an historical society with John E. Cross provisional president and W. S. Johnson provisional secretary. A board of some ten members has also been organized. Headquarters will be at the Newton City Library. In addition to promoting interest in local history, the society hopes to collect material for the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Jasper County in 1943.

The Iowa State Planning Board has chosen six projects for preservation, rebuilding, and marking. The total cost is estimated at \$15,000. Among the projects approved are the following: reconstruction of the John Brown House near Springdale; con-

struction of replica of Iowa's first schoolhouse at Galland in Lee County; the restoration of a stone mill at Motor in Clayton County; and the purchase of the former home of Ansel Briggs at Andrew, a farmhouse near Winterset, used as an Underground Railroad station, and an old flour mill at Decorah. The report was made by Dr. J. A. Swisher of the State Historical Society and D. Russell Paul, field representative of the Iowa State Planning Board. Highway markers at other places were recommended.

Hubert L. Moeller continues his lessons on Iowa history in the *Des Moines Register*, the *Clear Lake Reporter*, and the *Moville Mail*. Among the topics treated in November and December, 1934, January and February, 1935, were the following: treaty councils, an early Indian school, Joseph M. Street and the Indian agency, Albert Miller Lea's trip through Iowa in 1835, frontier claim associations, the case of Ralph, early steamboat travel in Iowa, the hanging of Patrick O'Connor, religious meetings in early Iowa, the election to determine the county seat of Scott County, politics in early Iowa, the Mormon brigade, a Constitution, Iowa's first militia, the "Calico" Railroad, and the Effie Afton and the Davenport bridge. Dr. John E. Briggs continues his articles for a list of Iowa newspapers. Among the general topics which have appeared recently are immigrants, transportation, and the Civil War.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The State Historical Society of Iowa and the State University, with the coöperation of Mr. L. O. Leonard, have received a valuable collection of manuscripts belonging to Thomas C. Durant, railroad promoter and builder.

Dr. Jacob A. Swisher, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave an illustrated lecture at the annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society, held at Winterset, March 5, 1935. His subject was "Iowa: Historic and Beautiful".

Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave an illustrated lecture on "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi" before the faculty of the Uni-

versity of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri, on September 22, 1934. On December 14th he gave the same lecture before the Iowa Authors Club at Des Moines and was interviewed on Mississippi River lore over radio station KSO the same afternoon. On January 8, 1935, he delivered an illustrated lecture on "Early Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi" before the Iowa City Parent-Teachers Association. On September 19, 1934, Dr. Petersen spoke before a District Meeting of the D. A. R. at Iowa City on the subject: "Revolutionary and Pre-Revolutionary Iowa". He delivered the same address before Iowa City Lodge No. 4, A. F. and A. M. on November 9, 1934, and on November 14th journeyed to Davenport to speak on the same subject before the Laymen's League of the Unitarian Church. On February 22, 1935, Dr. Petersen spoke at Cedar Rapids before the Ashley Chapter of the D. A. R. on the subject, "Iowa in the American Revolution".

"Iowa in 1835" is the theme for Iowa History Week in 1935. The dates are April 15th to 19th. The observance commemorates the trip of three companies of the United States Dragoons across Iowa in 1835. One of the results of this expedition was the publication in 1836 of a little volume entitled *Notes on Wisconsin Territory, Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District*. This book was the work of Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea, one of the officers of the dragoons and in it he emphasized the name Iowa as applied to the area west of the Mississippi River which had been ceded by the Sauk and Fox in 1832. Since very few copies of Lea's book are in existence, the State Historical Society has made an exact reprint of the original including the valuable map which Lea prepared from his notes on the trip and from data secured from others who knew the region. The March issue of *The Palimpsest* was also devoted to the Iowa History Week theme, containing the following articles: *Albert Miller Lea*, by Ruth A. Gallaher; *The Naming of Iowa*, by Benj. F. Shambaugh; and *Iowa in 1835*, by William J. Petersen. Iowa History Week, begun in 1926, is sponsored jointly by the State Historical Society of Iowa and the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership

in the Society: Miss Edith May Bell, Milton, Iowa; Mrs. Minnie Fletcher Blasier, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Dr. Ralph I. Claassen, Peoria, Illinois; Mrs. Amos Noyes Currier, Independence, Iowa; Miss Blanche E. Cutshall, Williamsburg, Iowa; Miss Adeliza Daniels, Marion, Iowa; Mr. Vergil S. Fogdall, Burlington, Iowa; Mr. E. L. Goff, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Robert J. Goodsell, Nashua, Iowa; Mr. Frank S. Hite, Marengo, Iowa; Mr. Eldon Jackson, Osceola, Iowa; Miss Louisa R. Jericho, Muscatine, Iowa; Miss Ruth Miner, Washington, Iowa; Dr. W. E. Peschau, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Ernest E. Soenke, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Charles Arthur Speer, Washington, Iowa; Mrs. Milton C. Towner, Appleton, Wisconsin; Mr. David A. Dancer, Lamoni, Iowa; Mr. Frank Herbert Fawkes, Pasadena, California; Mr. J. H. Hamilton, Elwood, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Hamilton, Sigourney, Iowa; Miss Dorothy C. Harrington, Williamsburg, Iowa; Mr. Morris McNie, Hampton, Iowa; Mr. Paul W. Schmidt, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Howard C. Baldwin, Cascade, Iowa; Mr. Wm. S. Beardsley, New Virginia, Iowa; Mr. Frank C. Byers, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Marley D. Clark, Mount Vernon, Iowa; Mr. H. E. Daniels, Churdan, Iowa; Mr. A. Claire Dewey, Washington, Iowa; Mr. Ben B. Doran, Grand Junction, Iowa; Mr. T. F. Driscoll, Farmington, Iowa; Mr. O. N. Hultman, Stanton, Iowa; Mr. John J. Jenkins, Columbus Junction, Iowa; Mr. Leroy S. Mercer, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. John H. Mitchell, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. C. D. Moore, Urbana, Iowa; Dr. E. A. Moore, Harlan, Iowa; Mr. Edward N. Ove, Dike, Iowa; Mrs. Carolyn C. Pendray, Maquoketa, Iowa; Mr. Garritt E. Roelofs, Sioux Center, Iowa; Mr. John J. Russell, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. John L. Sloane, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Thomas Stimpson, Anamosa, Iowa; Mr. John W. Tobin, Vinton, Iowa; Mr. William Treimer, Hartley, Iowa; Mrs. Ora Beitzell, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Helen Dunn, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Elbert A. Read, Shenandoah, Iowa; and Miss Mary A. Redmond, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Mr. and Mrs. F. F. McArthur of Oakland, Iowa, have collected between four and five thousand Indian relics.

Dr. Knut Gjerset has resigned from active work at Luther College, but will continue his work on a Norse-American encyclopedia.

The Congregational Church of Charles City has installed wall cases for relics, pictures, and other materials relating to the history of the church.

Mrs. Sarah Paine Hoffman of Iowa City has recently been appointed State Historian of the Iowa Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

A collection of Black Hawk pictures and Indian materials has been presented to the Rock Island County Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. John H. Hauberg of Rock Island.

Mrs. Henry C. Taylor of Bloomfield, formerly a member of the Board of Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa, has been appointed by Governor Clyde L. Herring as a member of the State Board of Conservation.

A grist mill from near Gillett grove along the Little Sioux River has been moved to the Clay County fair grounds at Spencer and will be re-erected and preserved there. The mill was built some fifty years ago, but was operated only a few years.

The Ladies Social Gathering of Iowa Falls was formed in November, 1859, for the purpose of establishing a cemetery. On Thanksgiving Day, 1934, they celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the association which still manages Union Cemetery.

As part of the celebration of the 400th anniversary of Luther's translation of the Bible, Luther College featured an exhibit of Bibles in the college museum building, under the charge of Karl T. Jacobsen, the librarian of the college. Some seventy-five lan-

guages were represented. The oldest Bible in the exhibit was printed in Danish in 1550.

The Pioneer Lawmakers Association held its annual meeting at Des Moines on February 20, 1935. Former Senator A. V. Proudfoot gave the principal address to the joint meeting of the Association and the General Assembly. Officers were elected as follows: Emory English, president; A. V. Proudfoot, vice president; and D. C. Mott, secretary. Portraits of W. S. Kenyon and William L. Harding were presented to the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department.

L. O. Leonard, curator of the collection of railroad materials belonging to the State University of Iowa, has been giving a series of broadcasts over WSUI, on the general theme, the settlement of the west. His talks have been given on Fridays, at 8:15 P. M. On February 22, Mr. Leonard gave a broadcast over WHO on the subject, "The Trail of the Ages". On January 31st, Mr. Leonard spoke to the Kiwanis Club of Burlington on the early history of Des Moines County. On March 4th, Mr. Leonard addressed the Men's Club of the Christian Church at Iowa City on "Early Railway Construction".

William L. Harding, Governor of Iowa from 1917 to 1921, died at his home in Des Moines on December 20, 1934. He was born near Sibley, Iowa, on October 3, 1877, and was educated at the local public schools, at Morningside College, and at the University of South Dakota, where he studied law and graduated in 1905. After practicing law at Sioux City a short time, Mr. Harding was elected to the House of Representatives, serving from January, 1907, until 1912, when he was elected Lieutenant Governor. He was reëlected in 1914 and in 1916 he was chosen Governor and served for four years as Chief Executive, his term covering the World War. Since the end of his service as Governor, Mr. Harding has been interested in the promotion of the St. Lawrence Waterway.

CONTRIBUTORS

PHILIP D. JORDAN, Research Assistant in History, at the State University of Iowa. Born at Burlington, Iowa, on November 7, 1903. Received B. S. and M. S. degrees from Northwestern University. Graduate study at Columbia University and State University of Iowa. Assistant Professor at Long Island University. Member of Sigma Delta Chi, Alpha Kappa Delta, Pi Gamma Mu, and various learned societies. Author of articles and reviews in the *Journal of Adult Education*, *American Literature*, *American Journal of Nursing*, *American Book Collector*, *The Quill*, *Field and Stream*, *The Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, *Social Science*, *Annals of Iowa*, and *The New Viewpoint*. Contributor to *Dictionary of American Biography* and *Social Science Abstracts*.

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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ALBERT MILLER LEA

June 7th, 1835, was Sunday, but there were no church bells at Fort Des Moines, the makeshift army post on the west bank of the Mississippi River just above the mouth of the Des Moines. Instead of Sabbath quiet all was hurry and bustle; three companies of the First United States Dragoons were starting on a long march up the Des Moines Valley. Men swore as their half-trained horses flinched when the saddle girths were tightened. Cattle bawled. Mule drivers cracked their whips. The morning air rang with orders, questions, good-byes.

At last all was ready and the cavalcade streamed out across the prairie — some one hundred and sixty mounted dragoons, five wagons each drawn by four mules, pack horses, a few Indians to act as guides, and a drove of beef cattle — provisions transported by their own power. At the head rode Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, commander of the detachment. Captain Nathan Boone (a son of the famous frontiersman, Daniel Boone) commanded Company H, Lieutenant Henry S. Turner had charge of Company B, and Captain Jesse B. Browne was in command of Company I. Before the expedition was well started, however, Captain Browne became ill and returned to the fort, leaving Lieutenant Albert M. Lea in charge of Company I.¹

¹ *A Journal of Marches of the First United States Dragoons 1834-1835* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VII, pp. 365, 366; Pelzer's *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 49-53. For a history of this Fort Des Moines see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 351-363, and Gallaher's *Fort Des Moines in Iowa History in Iowa and War*, No. XXII.

It happens that this expedition, interesting as it was and is, would probably have had little significance in Iowa history had it not been for the presence of Lieutenant Lea. Who was this slender, erect young officer, with the blue-grey eyes and brown hair? While the dragoons settle themselves in their saddles, and the horses move briskly across the prairie, let us take time to glance backward over his career.

Albert Miller Lea was born on a farm in Grainger County, Tennessee, some twenty-five miles from Knoxville, on July 23, 1808, and was next to the youngest child in a family of seven sons and a daughter. His father, named Major Lea, was the son of Luke Lea, a Baptist preacher, who had come to Tennessee during the Revolution, it is said, because his anti-war beliefs made him unpopular in North Carolina. His wife was described by her grandson as a "wise and prudent mother".²

Major Lea was about ten years old when the family migrated to Tennessee and settled in the vicinity of Knoxville. There he worked on a farm, fought Indians, and went to school for six months. Later he married Lavinia Jarnagin, oldest daughter of Thomas Jarnagin, a shrewd though unlettered business man of that section of Tennessee. This Thomas Jarnagin, a Virginian by birth, had migrated westward to the Tennessee country and for a time had served as register of the land office of the "State of Franklin". Albert Miller Lea described this grandfather as "a posi-

² Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 200-202, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879. There was a tradition in the Lea family that the three families—Lea, Lee, and Leigh—were originally descended from three brothers, named Lea, who came to America and founded three families in North Carolina and Virginia, one changing his name to Lee and one to Leigh, the eldest retaining the name Lea.—Letter from Miss Lida L. Lea to the writer, dated Corsicana, Texas, February, 1935; Armstrong's *Notable Southern Families*, Vol. III, pp. 71-83.

tive, dictatorial, domineering, sagacious man, who sold goods, and bought soldiers' certificates''. These certificates he located in the valley of Richland Creek, a tributary of the Holston River, accumulating an estate covering some nine miles of the valley, which he divided among his numerous children. To Lavinia fell a tract in the lower valley, which became Richland, the birthplace of Albert Miller Lea.³

The name Albert was given to the child by Pleasant Miller, a family friend, and the Miller was added to complete the name. There was little leisure for the Lea children. Albert M. Lea, when he was almost seventy-one, wrote of his childhood: "Although Major Lea prospered in the world and acquired slaves, he brought up his children to labor as he had done in his youth, and the little Albert, though a feeble child, was required to tend the herds, wield the hoe, spread the new-mown grass and assist in making the bricks for the fine house in contemplation."⁴

Near the Lea home were Lea's Springs, to which came visitors from the Carolinas and Georgia, and it may have been from these well-to-do visitors that the Lea boys learned to think of the world outside the valleys and hills of Tennessee and to desire a broader education. When Albert was thirteen he was sent to Knoxville to attend a small school taught by a Yale graduate. A year later his father died, and partly for want of funds Albert was com-

³ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 201. Major Lea was a favorite name in the Lea family. A cousin of this Major Lea, also named Major Lea, married Rhoda Jarnagin, Lavinia's younger sister.

⁴ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879. Overwork brought on a lameness which for a time appears to have interfered with the boy's normal activities and may have been one reason for some periods of ill-health in his adult life. His mother had cared for her younger brothers and sisters from an early age and said that only when she was actually sick in bed had she ever remained in bed at sunrise.

pelled to quit college at seventeen, within a session of graduation.

Work on the farm, reading, clerking in a country store (where he says he fell in love with the owner's daughter and taught Latin to the sons) occupied the next two years. Then the door of opportunity (or what seemed like opportunity) opened; Hugh L. White, a prominent citizen of Knoxville and for many years United States Senator from Tennessee, offered Albert Lea the appointment as cadet at the United States Military Academy and on July 1, 1827, he was enrolled at West Point.⁵

In his work at the Academy, Lea appears to have ranked high in scholarship and was listed as one of the five graduates excelling in "mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, engineering, French language, rhetoric and moral philosophy, artillery and tactics." He graduated in 1831, fifth in his class of thirty-three,⁶ with the rank of brevet second lieutenant.

Because of his class standing, Lieutenant Lea was first assigned to an artillery station at Old Point Comfort; but, being gallant enough to wish to please a lady, the betrothed of his friend, Lieutenant John B. Magruder, he (it is said) agreed to exchange his place in the artillery for service with the Seventh Infantry at Fort Gibson, a remote post at the junction of the Arkansas and Grand (or Neosho) rivers in what is now eastern Oklahoma. By this exchange, the

⁵ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 201, 202, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879. H. L. White was a rival of Martin Van Buren for the presidential nomination in 1836.

⁶ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. IV, pp. 844, 845. Among Lea's classmates were Samuel R. Curtis, who later served as chief engineer of the Des Moines River Improvement project, Lucius B. Northrop, later Commissary General of Subsistence in the Confederate Army, and Henry Clay, Jr., a son of the famous statesman, Henry Clay. Clay was killed at the battle of Buena Vista.

young lady, when she married Lieutenant Magruder, was able to remain in more civilized society. Lieutenant Lea explained later that he had decided to study law and thought a frontier army post would be a good place to read law books and court reports. In the meantime, he used his furlough following graduation in assisting Benj. H. Latrobe in a survey of a proposed railroad route from Baltimore to Washington.⁷

But if Lieutenant Lea had plans for quiet study, the army authorities either knew not or cared not about such plans, for on November 25, 1831, he was assigned to detached service with the topographical engineers. His first orders sent him to Louisiana, but when he arrived there, he was ordered to Washington, D. C., making the trip by way of New Orleans, taking a sailing vessel to New York and stages to Washington. At Washington he received orders to report to Lieutenant Colonel S. H. Long (the explorer of the West) to work on the survey of the Tennessee River. Lieutenant Colonel Long ordered Lieutenant Lea to proceed to the place where the Nolichucky River crossed the North Carolina-Tennessee line and to descend and survey that stream as far as Knoxville. This order, says Lea, was obeyed "by building a canoe, and running all the falls and shoals with one man who had never seen one of them before." At Knoxville, the party outfitted boats and surveyed the Tennessee River to the Alabama line. In connection with this work Lieutenant Lea staked out a canal at what was known as the Suck, below Chattanooga. Thirty years later, as a Confederate engineer, he was ordered to obstruct this canal.

⁷ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 202, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879; Powell's *The Contributions of Albert Miller Lea to the Literature of Iowa History* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

Following this work in his home State, Lea was sent to Philadelphia where he completed work on his maps and reports and, in addition (according to his autobiographical sketch), "made for Col. Long the plans for the first locomotive ever made by the Baldwins, besides studying French and music and drawing, attending the theatre, and flirting not a little."⁸

On March 4th (1833), Lieutenant Lea received his commission as second lieutenant. For work that spring he was sent to Weymouth, Massachusetts, to prepare maps and charts for the Weymouth Canal, but in August he was ordered to assist Lieutenant Colonel Long in surveys around Detroit.⁹ He rode as far as Wheeling (then in Virginia) in a phaeton with his classmate at West Point, Henry Clay, Jr. The work in the summer of 1833 centered in Saginaw Bay. That this work was no easy job is evident from the entries in Lea's journal. On Sunday, September twenty-ninth, he wrote: "Friday & yesterday Lt. Poole & myself continued the principal line through mud, grass & water, half the men complaining of sore feet, rheumatism, &c. . . . All parties seem to be getting rather tired of this amphibious kind of life."¹⁰

Lieutenant Lea returned to Detroit for the winter. Of this sojourn at Detroit Lea wrote later:

The winter was passed in office work, hard study, and much visiting of the ladies. I was out on a hunt in rather deep snow when the descent of fire occurred 13th Nov., 1833, and that day I got my first and only shot at a deer. The small society of Detroit at that

⁸ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 202, 203; *Statement of the Military Service of Albert Miller Lea*, furnished by the Adjutant General of the United States Army.

⁹ *Statement of the Military Service of Albert Miller Lea*, furnished by the Adjutant General of the United States Army.

¹⁰ Lea's *Journal of Operations on the Michigan Survey* (manuscript), in the Library of the Historical Society of Minnesota.

day was very select and very enjoyable; and we had dances almost nightly; especially enjoyable were those at old Judge Sibley's, father of Gen. S. of St. Paul, where we kept time to the first piano that crossed the Alleghanies (on a litter), under the hand of Mrs. S. for whom it was imported.¹¹

The winter passed and in the spring of 1834, Lieutenant Lea was ordered to rejoin his regiment — the Seventh Infantry — at Fort Gibson. Before accompanying him on this long journey to the West, we may stop to note some of the expenses of this detached topographical service. The old records reveal that from October 1, 1832, to September 30, 1834, Lieutenant Lea drew a total of \$1,600.25 for his own pay, subsistence, forage, servant's pay, servant's subsistence, and servant's clothing. Rent of his quarters at Philadelphia from October 10, 1832, to June 15, 1833, amounted to \$85.00 and his per diem, in lieu of quarters, while on field duty, from July 6, 1833, to April 30, 1834, amounted to \$298.00. Transportation expenses were only \$91.25. Medical services at Detroit in February and March, 1834, cost the government \$18.00. The total amounted to \$2,092.50.¹²

On his way to Fort Gibson, Lea stopped at New York and Washington. At the capital Lieutenant Lea met General Alexander Macomb and was persuaded to transfer to the newly organized regiment of the First United States Dragoons. He adds that this was rather against his wishes as he still hoped to study law and leave the army. While he was waiting for the Senate to confirm his appointment to

¹¹ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 203; *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, Vol. I, 1802-1840, pp. 380, 381. Lea tells in one of his articles how the young men rode in the pioneer two-wheeled carts when going to call in order to avoid getting their shoes muddy, for the streets were, of course, unpaved, and the mud was deep. The "descent of fire" refers to the shower of meteors on November 13, 1833.

¹² *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VI, p. 249.

the dragoon regiment, Lieutenant Lea visited friends in Baltimore and there renewed his acquaintance with a Miss Ellen Shoemaker whom he had met two years before when surveying for the Baltimore and Ohio. One evening the young army officer proposed marriage and was accepted; the next day came the orders to go west and it was two years before Lieutenant Lea again saw his fiancée.¹³

During these two years Lieutenant Lea saw much of the middle west. From Washington, D. C., he was sent to Newport, Kentucky, to take command of a group of dragoon recruits bound for Fort Armstrong (on Rock Island). In spite of the ravages of cholera, some sixty additions to the regiment reached the fort. From Rock Island Lieutenant Lea went to St. Louis, and while there agreed to go to New Orleans to take charge of \$96,000 in silver for Indian annuity payments. At the time — the summer of 1834 — yellow fever was so prevalent in the lower valley that the commanding officer refused to order officers on this service without their consent. Lea explains that army officers were used for this escort duty because there was no express service and no bonding or insurance companies to guarantee the safe transportation of so much cash. The commission of an officer was considered sufficient security. Lea made the trip in safety and returned to St. Louis with the silver in kegs, each keg holding \$5000. These kegs of silver were brought up the river on a steamboat at ordinary freight rates and delivered safely at St. Louis. Lea, however, claimed that he was not paid the mileage agreed upon and that the money went to P. Chouteau and Company to pay claims against the Indians who saw little or none of the coin.

By the time Lieutenant Lea had returned to St. Louis

¹³ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 203, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879.

with the money, Colonel Henry Dodge's detachment of the First Dragoon Regiment had arrived at Fort Leavenworth and there he joined it, going up the Missouri River on the last boat of the season. Lieutenant Lea was at once detailed to accompany Major John Dougherty, the Indian agent, on a trip to Bellevue to make certain annuity payments. The voyageurs they met were chiefly French, and Lea's knowledge of that language won him their friendship. At Bellevue, they met Lucien F. Fontenelle who told Lea of the Great Salt Lake.

Of the return trip Lieutenant Lea wrote later:

Returning November 1st, a bright pretty morn, we crossed the Platte at sunrise, ferrying our baggage again in elk hide boats, having in company only the agent and my escort of three men, none of whom could swim, and all declined to mount and lead our horses in swimming, when I said to them, "Well, men, I never order men to go where I fear to lead," stripped off all but my shirt, mounted, bare-backed, the strong sorrel furnished me by the Quartermaster, and forcing him in led the cavalcade safely across, where some years after a fine young officer and his command were swallowed in quicksand.

Upon his return to Fort Leavenworth, Lieutenant Lea was ordered to join the detachment of three companies — B, H, and I — of the First Dragoons which had gone from Fort Gibson to Fort Des Moines. The Missouri River boats were laid up for the winter so Lea bought a horse (which he named "Warraneesah") and rode some three hundred and fifty miles to St. Louis. At St. Louis, a boat was going north, so Lea went on board, taking with him his horse and a black pony, purchased at St. Louis, which he named "Richland" for his old home. The clerk, recognizing Lieutenant Lea as an army officer, told him that the wife of an officer was on board with a very sick baby, accompanied by a nurse and her baby. Lea at once offered his assistance

and learned that the lady was Mrs. Browne, the wife of Captain Browne of Company I to which he had been assigned. The wheezing boat finally landed the party at the foot of the Lower Rapids, on the Illinois side, where a single unfinished board shanty gave them shelter.

Lieutenant Lea found a dilapidated carryall and hitched his "long, lank parade horse" to it, while a boy rode the pony. In the carryall were Mrs. Browne, the nurse, and the two babies, with Lieutenant Lea driving. On the way the horse broke a shaft and Lea rode the pony three miles before he found a sapling to replace it. When they were still eight miles from their destination — the present site of Nauvoo — then with only a single shanty to offer shelter, darkness fell and the young officer was compelled to walk ahead leading the horse along a stumpy road. At ten o'clock, they reached the settler's cabin and the next morning Captain Browne came across the river and took charge of his wife and baby and the nurse. Lieutenant Lea, doubtless with a sigh of relief, ferried himself and his two horses across the Mississippi River, rode to Fort Des Moines, and reported for duty.

It was the beginning of winter. Lea chinked his cabin, put down a second hand carpet brought from St. Louis, daubed and banked the stable for his horses, and prepared to be as comfortable as possible. His plans were soon set at naught by an order to go across country to Fort Gibson for some men left there sick the autumn before. He set out on January 2, 1835, riding his "parade" horse and accompanied by an orderly — "a raw German servant" — on the spirited black pony. After difficulties due to snow and ice, Lieutenant Lea reached the Missouri River, opposite Booneville, Missouri, but was prevented from crossing by the floating ice. At Arrow Rock, twelve miles above Booneville, Lea sent his servant back to Fort Des Moines

with the two horses, and found a mulatto ferryman who was able to take him and his baggage across. He bought a native pony "wooly" enough to stand the cold, and started out on the long journey through the snow. The first night of this solitary trip was spent at the home of General Thomas Smith, whose wife was a sister of Senator Hugh L. White. Here kindness, warmth, a rubber of whist, and a "little hot toddy" did something to make him forget the hardships.

The next morning (February 5, 1835) a blizzard was sweeping across the Missouri area. Two and a half feet of snow lay on the ground while a violent gale carried the dry particles with stinging force. His friends urged Lieutenant Lea to wait until the storm subsided, but General Smith had, good-humoredly, teased his guest about the effeminacy of West Pointers and Lea was young enough to feel that he had to disprove this criticism. So he set out, so bundled up, he says, that he could hardly get his compass out. No doubt he needed all he wore, for at Booneville, a few miles away, the thermometer recorded thirty below zero.

Day after day, Lieutenant Lea made his way across the winter-swept country, stopping with settlers, many of whom were friends from Tennessee and Kentucky. One night he spent under a shed with a cow and her new-born calf. He stayed one night in the home of Lewis Ross, a brother of John Ross, chief of the Cherokees. At last he reached Fort Gibson and was welcomed by his brother officers. Two weeks passed, while he waited for orders for the men he had been sent to get. Then one morning, before he was up, he got orders to move at once and in two hours he was on his way back to Fort Des Moines, with sixty-eight men, including a deserter in irons. The detachment started down the Grand River in an old keelboat. The rivers were

in flood with melting snows and none of the men had had experience with boats, but they reached the mouth of the Arkansas in safety. North-bound boats refused to stop for signals; the Mississippi boiled with turbulent flood waters and was full of drifting debris. One of the men offered to cross in a canoe, succeeded in doing so, and returned with a steamer which carried the party to Cairo. A second boat transported the detachment to Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis. Here Lieutenant Lea found orders to get arms and ammunition from the arsenal near St. Louis for his command, but the officer in charge refused to fill the requisition without orders from Washington, procedure which would require some three weeks. Lea felt that he could not delay so long and, finding no other means of getting arms for the men, he was, he says, obliged to take his "unarmed men to join other half armed men, all without ammunition, to make a march among the wild Indians of the region between the Mississippi and the Missouri, to impress them with the show of power! Long live red tape!"¹⁴

At Fort Des Moines Lea found much activity, but less than the necessary efficiency. A communication, dated March 9, 1835, brought this order: "The three companies under the command of Lieut. Colonel Kearney [sic] will proceed up the River Desmoines, to the Racoon Fork, there halt, and reconnoitre the position with a view to the selection of a site for the establishment of a military post in that vicinity; on which subject Lieut. Colonel Kearney will report on his return to his winter quarters at Fort Desmoines. After having made this reconnoissance Lieut. Colonel Kearney will proceed with his command to the Sioux

¹⁴ This account of Lea's activities on the trips to Fort Des Moines and Fort Gibson is taken from a letter from Albert Miller Lea to H. W. Lathrop, printed in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, pp. 535-553, under the title *Early Explorations in Iowa*, and from his autobiographical sketch in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879.

Villages near the highlands on the Mississippi about the 44° of North Latitude: thence taking a direction to the Westward return to his original position at the mouth of the Desmoines, passing by the right bank of that river.”¹⁵

Lieutenant Colonel Kearny was distracted. Recruits came in and more horses were imported, but officers were lacking to train the men, and there were not enough arms. Kearny wrote to Adjutant General Roger Jones asking urgently for more officers. It was absolutely necessary, he wrote, that officers who “either know something of their duty, or who are capable of learning it, (all in the Regt. are not so) should be with their Companies”.¹⁶

Lieutenant Lea was not in camp when this letter was written, but he arrived soon afterwards, to find the post in a chaotic condition. Captain Browne had been sent to Illinois to buy horses and Lea was put in charge of Company I. The men were careless and undisciplined. New stables were needed for the horses. Lieutenant Lea set up a whip saw and men who neglected to care for their horses or abused them were assigned to duty with the saw. The plan, apparently, profited the horses, improved the discipline of the men, and provided lumber for additional buildings. The quarters were whitewashed. So well satisfied was Lieutenant Colonel Kearny with Lieutenant Lea's success with Company I, that he gave Captain Boone unasked leave to visit his family and turned Company H over to Lea. Lieutenant Lea liked Captain Boone who was, he said, an excellent scout and frontiersman but “no more fitted to command and to take care of a company of Dragoons than

¹⁵ From a photostatic copy of a general order issued by Adjutant General Roger Jones, on March 9, 1835, in the office of the Adjutant General.

¹⁶ From a photostatic copy of a letter from Lieutenant Colonel S. W. Kearny to Adjutant General Roger Jones, dated Fort Des Moines, April 11, 1835. The original is in the office of the Adjutant General.

any common field hand is competent to run a cotton plantation."¹⁷

At last the work of preparation was done. The grass was high enough to feed the animals. The command was "Forward", and this brings us back once more to that Sunday morning, June 7, 1835, when the dragoons moved out across the Iowa prairie.

"Our route", wrote Lea in describing this expedition, "was along the divide between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, the ground was still very soft from excessive rains, but the grass and streams were beautiful, and strawberries so abundant as to make the whole track red for miles together, and as our progress north, about fifteen miles per day, coincided with their ripening, we had this luxury for many weeks, increased by the incident of one of our bees becoming a milker, and as the master of the herd was of my company I had the monopoly of the grateful food seldom enjoyed so far from civilization."¹⁸

The order for the expedition had instructed Lieutenant Colonel S. W. Kearny to inspect the Raccoon Fork as a possible site for an advance post, but the guides overshot this destination and the command struck the Des Moines River at Prospect Hill, some forty-five miles north of the junction. Lieutenant Colonel Kearny decided that he could make the inspection just as well on the way home and led his detachment in a northeasterly direction, heading for Wabasha's village on the Mississippi. Soon after the dra-

¹⁷ Article by Albert Miller Lea in the *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), January 30, 1890. Some time during this period Lea visited the lodge of Black Hawk and listened to his story of the Black Hawk War. Lea tells of the difficulties he had in helping straighten out the accounts of both Captain Browne and Captain Boone. Browne's were settled by an appeal to an influential Congressman. See also the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, pp. 545, 546.

¹⁸ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, p. 547.

goons turned away from the Des Moines (on June 23rd), their supply of pork was exhausted and henceforth they had to depend for meat upon the beef cattle and wild game, shot, it appears, chiefly by the Indian guides.¹⁹

Of this part of the trip Lea has left a description worth reprinting.

Some days' march north of the present city of Burlington we passed near the head of the Skunk river (given by me in the Sac tongue as Chicaqua, a modification of the Pottawattamie Chicago), when a gosling ran through our ranks, and was chased by a raw German on foot to a curious lake, apparently dammed artificially by a wall of boulders, and marked on my sketch as Swan Lake.²⁰

The grass was fine, and our horses and beeves gradually grew fat, but the Indians had burnt all the old grass, leaving short hazel stubs, which penetrated the horses' feet, softened by the wet earth, causing fistulas between the frog and the shell, to be cured only by the knife or caustic. My long parade horse was the first victim, becoming very lame, when I threw him, cut away all the fistula in reach, and ran a short stick of lunar caustic up over the frog, replaced the shoe with a boot leg and padding beneath (or above) it, and turned him out for the night. Although usually rude and unwilling to be handled, early next day he came to my tent door and extended his foot for treatment. As we had no veterinarian, many claimed my services for that and other afflictions that horse "flesh is heir to," and thus what I had learned as a boy from my father on a farm in the mountains of East Tennessee served the government and my friends well on the wild plains of the far west. All knowledge is worth treasuring.

Not far from the head of Skunk (Chicaqua) river, in the midst of an ocean of fine native grass, such as only Iowa produces, we encountered a small herd of buffalo, to which many of us gave chase. It was the first and only time I have seen the lordly beast in his home, and probably the last time he appeared in that region. Meat was plenty in camp that night, including a calf brought in

¹⁹ *A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons 1834-1835* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VII, p. 368; Pelzer's *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 54, 55.

²⁰ The present Wall Lake.

alive; but my feast was found in the marrow, which Agent Dougherty had taught me to esteem. We camped one night near a flint and gravel covered conical peak, say sixty feet above the plain, near a stream, named on my sketch as "Boone river," but it must have been the Des Moines itself, as surveys have shown. It was near Boone. Can you locate it now? After my tent was pitched we killed four rattle snakes within it, and the next day I had a bath in a pool, occupied by mosquitoes so large that I pressed one in my journal, and carried [it] for years as a specimen of the luxuriant growth of the plains.²¹

In addition to his other duties, Lieutenant Lea acted as ordnance officer and voluntarily assumed the duties of topographer. As the detachment advanced he kept a record of the country traversed, "using a pocket compass, a watch, and a sketch book, the distance being computed by time and rate of marching. Streams and places were named on this sketch".²²

The Skunk River was then called the Chicaqua or Chacagua. The present Iowa River, Lea named the Bison River (some buffalo having been killed on the upper reaches) while the present Cedar River, he thought should be called the Iowa.

On plodded the detachment, across the headwaters of the "Wabesapinica", the "Penaca" or Turkey River, and the Upper Iowa. Near Lake Pepin they came to a river which Lea named the Embarras (from driftwood collections obstructing the stream), later modified into Zumbro. In a creek flowing into this river were many speckled trout. One man in Lea's company is reported to have caught 130 trout in four hours with an improvised hook and line.²³

²¹ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, pp. 547, 548. The mound referred to may have been Pilot Mound, north of Boone, near the Des Moines River.

²² Curtiss-Wedge's *History of Freeborn County Minnesota*, p. 43.

²³ Curtiss-Wedge's *History of Freeborn County Minnesota*, p. 44.

From this point, the command moved southward a few miles to a camp near Wabasha's²⁴ village, where Lieutenant Colonel Kearny held a conference (apparently purely perfunctory) with the Sioux Indians. The supplies were replenished from a boat²⁵ which had come up the Mississippi and Captain Browne rejoined his company. A few men were sent back on the boat because of sickness.

On July 21st the Dragoons turned their backs on the Father of Waters and started westward across the lake region of southern Minnesota. Few of these lakes were named at the time and Lieutenant Lea found it necessary to give names to those he sketched in his journal. "As we marched along strung out in a column of two", said Albert M. Lea in recalling the march, a fox dashed through the column and the lake I was then sketching was noted as "Fox Lake".²⁶

Much of the area was either actually covered with water or was swampy. A dragoon who kept a diary of the march has preserved the following account of one day's difficulties. Writing at noon on July 29th he said:

This morning to all appearance we should have a good days march but had made but 5 or 6 miles when we perceived before us a lake stretching as far as the eye could reach from N. to S. & from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles in width. We bore to the north to try to get around it. But at this time 12 M. We have come to an outlet. on one side & on the other a marsh which is impassable. What course we shall now take is uncertain. The officers are now assembled to concert measures to get out of this difficulty In the meantime the men are

²⁴ Wabasha was an influential chief of the Sioux Indians. His village was somewhere near the present site of Winona, Minnesota.

²⁵ This was the *Warrior*, commanded by Captain Joseph Throckmorton. It had taken part in the battle of Bad Axe in 1832.

²⁶ Curtiss-Wedge's *History of Freeborn County Minnesota*, p. 44; *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), June 21, 1877. This is now Lake Albert Lea.

taking their rest in the shade their horses grazing beside them. No name is mentioned by Geographers for this lake.²⁷

Lea also refers in his reminiscences to a noon rest by a lake, for he says: "We stopped for our noon rest on the high bank of an exquisitely beautiful lake; which from our point of view took the shape of the *Chapeau de bras* then used in full dress by military men; and I named it 'Lake Chapeau.'"²⁸

There appears to be uncertainty as to the location of this noon camp, but at any rate, the line of march on July 29th lay north of the lakes which Lea named Fox Lake (now Lake Albert Lea) and Lake Chapeau (now White Lake). Not long before his death, Albert M. Lea wrote concerning the renaming of one of these lakes:

Six years after [1841], when Chief Clerk of the War Department, I was breakfasting one Sunday with Nicollet, in the room where his great map of the Upper Mississippi was under construction, glued on a large drawing table, when he led the talk to the map of that country made from notes and sketches of this campaign; and he was enthused by my sketch of a scene on a particular lake.

"Ah," said he, "zat ees fine, zat ees magnifique! What you call 'im?" "I named it from its shape, Lake Chapeau." "Zat ees not de name, it is Lake Albert Lea," and he ran to the big table and wrote the name on the map, already copied from mine, and the name is still attached to the lake, and a fair little city has grown up on its border, bearing the same, which I visited by special invitation eleven years ago [1879], and addressed a large assemblage of pioneers and descendents in a grove traversed by our detachment forty-four years before, many marks of our trail being still recognizable.²⁹

²⁷ *A Journal of Marches of the First United States Dragoons 1834-1835* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VII, p. 374.

²⁸ *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), June 21, 1877.

²⁹ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, pp. 525, 549; Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names* in the *Collections of the*

The name Albert Lea was not, however, given to Lea's Lake Chapeau on Nicollet's final map, but to the larger lake which Lea had designated Fox Lake on his map. It may be that Nicollet later gave the name Albert Lea to the larger lake, and left Lea's Lake Chapeau unnamed, or it is possible that Lea himself confused the lakes.

Another lake which Lea named Council Lake, from a meeting with some straggling Indians, was later renamed Freeborn Lake. Lea also listed on his map and named two lakes not on the trail. One of these he named Boone Lake (now Bear Lake) for his friend, Captain Boone, and the other Trail Lake (now the Upper Twin Lake) from an Indian trail. He was mistaken, however, in thinking that the Boone River began in Boone Lake.³⁰

Turning south on the first of August, the dragoons crossed the East Fork of the Des Moines on rafts made by the men and the following day reached the main channel of the Des Moines, crossing this a day later at a ford. The trail then lay southward along the west bank of the Des Moines to the Raccoon Fork which they reached on Saturday evening, August the eighth. Here Lieutenant Colonel Kearny tarried to study the possibilities of this location as a site for a military post. Of this camp Lieutenant Lea wrote: "we descended to the mouth of the Raccoon Fork, a

Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. XVII, p. 203; Curtiss-Wedge's *History of Freeborn County Minnesota*, p. 46. The Nicollet referred to was J. N. Nicollet who prepared a map of the Mississippi basin for the government in 1843. The statements concerning these two lakes are confusing. In one account Lea places the noon rest on Lake Chapeau, now White Lake; in another he says it was on Lake Albert Lea, which he had named Fox Lake. He also says that Nicollet renamed Lake Chapeau for him but, in fact, Nicollet gave the name Albert Lea to Fox Lake, leaving Lake Chapeau unnamed on his map. Lea made a mistake in indicating a creek flowing into Lake Chapeau instead of into the western arm of Fox Lake, but his map is correct as to the location and shape of the two lakes. As a matter of fact the name "Chapeau" might have been intended for the larger lake.

³⁰ Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names* in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, p. 203.

grassy and spongy meadow with a bubbling spring in the midst, near which my tent was pitched, and the side of a fat young deer was spitted before the fire, and despatched with great gusto by the aid of two brother officers and a bottle of fine old French brandy, obtained from Chouteau's stock, and carried the whole campaign in my wallet, untasted. The capital of Iowa now covers that site."³¹

Perhaps the enlisted men did not fare so well, for the entry of the unknown soldier's diary for Sunday reads: "This morning Col. Kearney went to examine the forks for a site suitable for building a Fort. What his opinion will be is not known. We shall start for Fort Des Moines as soon as possible as our rations are getting scarce — we have had no sugar or coffee and but about ½ rations of flour & meat".³²

Lieutenant Colonel Kearny apparently wanted additional information about the Des Moines before deciding upon the site of the post and that Sunday he ordered Lieutenant Lea to make the remainder of the journey down the river in a canoe.³³ There was, of course, no boat at hand, so the men felled a large cottonwood tree, hollowed it out, and by Tuesday morning Lea and two men — a dragoon (named Holliday) and an Indian guide — stepped into the little craft, lifted their paddles, and started down the Des Moines. Lea's instructions included estimating distances,

³¹ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, p. 549.

³² *A Journal of Marches of the First United States Dragoons 1834-1835* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VII, p. 376.

³³ The main detachment crossed the Raccoon River on Monday morning and marched on down the west side of the Des Moines to a point not far from the present site of Agency. Here they recrossed the river and returned to their post, on the nineteenth of August, without losing a man. The expedition had covered about 1100 miles.— See Lea's map in his *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory*; and *A Journal of Marches of the First United States Dragoons 1834-1835* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VII, pp. 376-378.

taking courses with a pocket compass, sounding shoals, examining the rocks, soil, and plants along the course, and selecting possible sites for military posts. At night they slept on sandbars, suffering much from gnats and mosquitoes. When they arrived at Captain White's trading house, they left the canoe and "footed" it to the fort, where they arrived in time to welcome the main body who had made the trip by land, a total of some 1100 miles.³⁴ On September 8th, Lieutenant Lea submitted to his commanding officer a report of his exploration of the Des Moines River.³⁵

While working on this report or after it had been submitted Lieutenant Lea drew a map (24 x 30 inches) of the region covered by the expedition, with the idea, he says, of interesting the public and perhaps making a little money. Much assistance was secured from Captain Boone who had been with him on the expedition and was familiar with the frontier territory. Although Lea considered this map a private project, Lieutenant Colonel Kearny apparently considered it in line of duty, requisitioned it, and sent it to Washington. Lea later said of this disagreement: "Col. Kearney sent for it, and when finished he took it from me, disallowing a copy, although all my work on the march and in quarters was wholly voluntary, not trenching upon duties, and the product was as much my private property as my hand."³⁶

Whether or not Lieutenant Lea intended his map for the War Department, he submitted it to Lieutenant Colonel Kearny on November 4th and with it a "Memoir" of twen-

³⁴ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, p. 550.

³⁵ This report is reprinted on pages 242-246 of this issue, as Appendix A. It was taken from a photostatic copy of the original in the office of the Adjutant General at Washington, D. C.

³⁶ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, p. 550.

ty-three pages in Lea's fine, beautiful script, giving a vivid picture of the country over which the expedition traveled, for Lea was a keen observer and had an unusual ability to see the country over which he rode as a part of the larger area. This "Memoir" contained much of the information presented the following year in book form.³⁷ Of the preparation of the map, he wrote:

The materials, from which this map has been constructed, are derived from personal observation, from oral information, from public documents and from other maps. The Missouri river is taken wholly from Tanner's Map of the United States, as also the St. Peter's river; the Mississippi is taken from the same map, except in places known to be inaccurate. No deviation has been made from Tanner, except on good authority. The Indian Boundaries have mostly been taken from Treaties; but the maps of the surveys of these routes, by order of Government, would afford accurate information not within my reach; these maps may be found in the Bureaus at Washington.

The route of the Detachment was surveyed by taking the course at every change, with a pocket compass, and by *estimating* the distance. These estimates, as tested by actual measurement, have proved to be wonderfully accurate. Much of the matter either shown on the map or expressed in this paper, has been given by Captain Boone of the Dragoons: he is probably better acquainted, personally, with the country included in this map, than any other person whatever.³⁸

A notebook containing some of Lea's records and sketches of the trip across southern Minnesota is in the Library of the Minnesota Historical Society. Writing to the Minnesota Society in 1869, Albert M. Lea said: "The

³⁷ This "Memoir", mislaid in the files of the War Department for almost a century, was recently located by a clerk in the Adjutant General's office. It was printed in full in *The Palimpsest* for April, 1935.

³⁸ From a photostatic copy of the Memoir submitted by Lieutenant Albert M. Lea on November 4, 1835, in the files of the Adjutant General's office. Captain Boone had assisted in the survey of the Neutral Ground.

other sketches & my journal have disappeared. A transcript prepared for the press but never printed, 150 pages, was given to a friend in N. York, to whom I will write. Perchance it may be recovered.''³⁹

Perhaps the disagreement over the map made Lieutenant Lea dissatisfied with military life; perhaps he thought of the girl he had left at Baltimore almost two years before and wished to settle down in some civilian occupation; perhaps he saw in this Iowaland a possible investment. A clue to his motives is given in these words, written the year before his death:

Weary of playing the role of head hostler, I resolved to resign my commission, and adopt the profession of civil engineer, then in much demand; but before leaving, I desired to make profit out of my special knowledge, by securing claim to lands; and especially to the angle of the river, where some thirty to thirty-five miles below Rock Island it turned from west to south, protruding a sharp elbow into the heart of the rich region within its proper range. During a very cold spell in February, 1836, I rode from the fort up the river, stopped at the raw village of Burlington one night, and next day I bought of one David, a young, shrewd Kentuckian, four lots fronting the court house, in expectancy, for \$100, and sold them to John Pemberton, a friend in Philadelphia, father of Gen. John C., of Vicksburg notoriety, for \$400, the next spring; these lots, I suppose, are now worth \$200,000; this is a sample of the opportunities then open to me. I reached the mouth of Iowa river at dark, and was refused shelter in the only house there, occupied by a drinking crowd of men and women, and was obliged to go up the narrow crooked river, on the ice, four inches thick, with snow three inches deep on it, axe in hand, to try the ice at every sharp bend for fear of thin places, in moonless darkness relieved only by the snow, intensified by the dense forest on both sides, four miles, to a snug cabin on the north side, where aroused at nine P. M. they received me kindly, gave me supper and a sleep with the hired man,

³⁹ Letter from Albert Miller Lea to the Minnesota Historical Society, dated Galveston, Texas, September 4, 1869. These missing records have not, as yet, come to light.

the other two beds being occupied by the squatter and wife and many children, grown daughters included, the cook stove being in the fourth corner, and yet we were all comfortable, and as gay at breakfast as if feasting at a wedding.

About noon that day the head of Muscatine slough was reached, where a squatter had a small cabin of unhewn poles and two stacks of prairie hay, which, with his "claim," good as a patent, he offered to sell to me for fifty dollars; but I had no idea that he held the very position I was seeking, declined his offer, and pushed on by starlight to old Ben Nye's at the mouth of Pine river, eighteen miles below Rock Island, which I was well assured was the coveted apex of the great bend. The next morning I bought all his claims on the north of Pine and rode on, in high spirits, to visit the officers at Fort Armstrong, where I met Capt. Wm. Gordon, a brother Tennessean, of Pocahontas descent, just returned from some years trapping in the Rocky Mountains, who had come across alone from Council Bluffs to view the country, to seek and to seize upon *the* spot which I had just secured. He took the great disappointment in good part, and we soon formed a partnership, by which he was to have a share and the care of my town site, whilst he was to take the upper half of the whole claim undivided, and we were to be equal partners in all other operations. So, after two nights and a day together in the hospitable garrison, we parted, he to take and *hold* possession and I to return joyfully to our post, and then to hasten to Baltimore, where a lovely woman had awaited my return nearly two years.⁴⁰

Nor had Lea forgotten his map and the memoir he had written to accompany it. He was now the holder of a claim in this new land — Scott's Purchase. The value of land was enhanced by settlement. Therefore it occurred to Lea, why not advertise Iowa? There might be a double profit — from the sale of a book and map on Iowa and from the increased value of his "town" if settlers came to buy his lots. He went to Washington, secured his map⁴¹ (or a copy of

⁴⁰ Lea's *Early Explorations in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, pp. 551, 552.

⁴¹ The original map was not found with the Memoir when it was recently located. A copy of it was, however, printed in Lea's *Notes on The Wisconsin*

it) with some difficulty, wrote an account of the region, and took the map and manuscript to his friend, H. S. Tanner of Philadelphia. General George W. Jones wrote the preface. Tanner agreed to publish one thousand copies at 37½ cents per copy. The sale price was one dollar. The book was a paper-bound volume approximately three by five inches, containing 53 pages of text and a lithographed map of the Iowa District about 18½ by 22 inches. Its title was *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory, Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase*. An inside title page bore the words, *Notes on Wisconsin Territory, with a map*. Misfortune attended the venture, however, for half the copies shipped by freight to a merchant at Burlington, were lost in transit by steamboat on the Ohio River. Comparatively few copies of this little book survived.⁴²

The loss of these books was unfortunate for others, as well as for Lieutenant Lea, for his account of Iowa was unusually detailed and accurate and the map would have made the way easier for many settlers. Chapter one was a general description of the Black Hawk Purchase or Iowa District — area, location, climate, soil, general appearance, products, population, trade, government, and land titles. Chapter II was devoted to water courses; and Chapter III to towns, landings, and roads. The act establishing the Territory of Wisconsin, approved on April 20, 1836, was reprinted in full.

Of Iowa, the town Lieutenant Lea had planned, he wrote in his book:

Territory and was reprinted by the State Historical Society of Iowa when that book was reprinted in 1935.

⁴² In 1935, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the dragoon expedition, the State Historical Society reprinted Lea's *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory*. A good account of this book and of other contributions of Albert Miller Lea to the literature of Iowa history is found in Powell's *The Contributions of Albert Miller Lea to the Literature of Iowa History* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. IX, pp. 3-32.

IOWA. This is the name of a town to be laid out at the mouth of Pine river, about 330 miles above Saint Louis. From its situation at the apex of a great bend in the Mississippi, it is central to a large district of country; and the near approach of the Iowa river just back of it, brings all the settlements along a great part of that stream, within a short distance of this place. It possesses the most convenient landing from Burlington to the head of the Upper Rapids; and no place could be better adapted to the erection of buildings. The harbour of Pine river runs through the town, affording good landings on both sides; and boats may land any where on the Mississippi shore, for a mile and a half above the mouth of Pine. This will be the point of deposit for the trade of the country included between the Iowa, Wabesapinica, and Mississippi; and for the disembarkation of emigrants going to that region. But a simple inspection of the map is sufficient to show its general advantages of position. Its local conveniences are, its landing, its harbour, its fine sloping grounds, its good water, its water-power, its timber, and its building-stone.

As soon as the Legislative Council of Wisconsin shall be assembled, the District will be re-divided into counties; and Madison and Iowa will probably be made county towns. Should the seat of Government of the future State of Iowa be located on the Mississippi, it would probably be fixed at Iowa, owing to the central position and commercial advantages of that place; and if it be located in the interior, it must be near the Iowa river, as the weight of population will be there; and then the town of Iowa will be the nearest port on the Mississippi to the Capital of the State. There are some of the most beautiful sites for private residences between this and Rock Island, that can be desired; Nature here has made her finest display of gay and cheerful beauty.⁴³

The most important contribution made by Lieutenant Lea in his book was the emphasis given to the name Iowa. It was not, of course, unknown before Lea published his book, but there was no consensus of opinion as to the name to be given to the area west of the Mississippi ceded by the Sac and Fox Indians in 1832. It was variously referred to as "Scott's Purchase" or the "Black Hawk Purchase".

⁴³ Lea's *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 37, 38.

Lea's book impressed the name "Iowa" on the public consciousness. "*Notes on The Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District*" stood out on the title page. The name Iowa, Lea explains at the beginning, was taken from the Iowa River "which runs centrally through the District, and gives character to most of it, the name of that stream being both euphaneous and appropriate".⁴⁴

In his book and on his map, Lieutenant Lea spelled the name I-o-w-a, instead of using the then preferred spelling I-o-w-a-y. He later explained that he and George W. Jones had adopted this spelling because it harmonized with their fancy for Latin or Spanish terminations. Later Lea changed his mind and asked that the new Territory be named Ioway, which he said was the spelling and pronunciation used by the people living there, "with a sort of Indian grunt by way of accent on the last syllable". But George W. Jones, Delegate to Congress from Wisconsin Territory, stuck to "Iowa" and so the State was named.⁴⁵

While the book was being printed, Lieutenant Lea had other matters on hand. On May 5, 1836, he married Miss Ellen Shoemaker, the young woman he had wooed in the summer of 1834. She was a beautiful girl, but not robust. Unwilling to take her on frontier duty and already dissatisfied with army service, Lieutenant Lea resigned his commission, to take effect on the thirty-first of May.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Lea's *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 7, 8. For accounts of the naming of Iowa see the following: Shambaugh's *The Origin of the Name Iowa* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 641-644; Shambaugh's *The Naming of Iowa* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XVI, pp. 81-86.

⁴⁵ Letter from Albert M. Lea to T. S. Parvin, dated Corsicana, Texas, April 4, 1890. This letter is in the Masonic Library at Cedar Rapids. See also a letter from Albert Miller Lea to H. G. Day, dated Corsicana, Texas, January 1, 1890. This letter is in the Public Library at Albert Lea, Minnesota.

⁴⁶ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Rec-*

In July, 1836, Albert Miller Lea, now a civilian, brought his wife to Iowa, by lake steamer to Chicago, by wagon to Galena, and south by Mississippi steamboat to the site on Pine Creek which he had named Iowa, but which he now re-christened Ellenborough for his bride. Here he spent some time surveying the site.⁴⁷

While waiting to see if his real estate investment in Iowa would prove profitable, Lea accepted the position of chief engineer in charge of the public works in his native State of Tennessee. He began work on March 1, 1837, but almost immediately the country was in the grip of a panic and work was discontinued. Lea then did some work for private parties. In the meantime (January 31, 1837) his wife had borne him a son whom they named Edward.

On one of his trips between Tennessee and Baltimore, in the spring of 1838, Lea stopped at Washington and there George W. Jones, delegate from Iowa Territory, offered him the position as United States Commissioner to decide the disputed boundary between the State of Missouri and the newly organized Territory of Iowa. The Land Office, however, failed to make out his instructions until August 14th and Lea had to go from Washington to White Sulphur Springs in Virginia to get President Van Buren's signature. Making his way to St. Louis by river boat and stage, Lea began the work of evaluating the various boundary lines.

Lea's account of the difficulties attending this work are told in the following quotation:

At St. Louis I made an outfit for running the boundary, and was
ord, Vol. VIII, p. 203; *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, Vol. I, 1802-1840, pp. 380, 381.

⁴⁷ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 204, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879.

met at Montrose by the Commissioner for Iowa, who was of no use but to consume rations, and soon left. My party followed the marked Indian boundary line towards the old northwest corner of Missouri one hundred miles north of the mouth of the Kansas river, but the cold became so intense and the snow so deep that we could never find the corner itself. Our mission was to compare its latitude with that of the head of the rapids in the Mississippi and that of the rapids of the Des Moines, in the Des Moines river itself at the Great Bend. After a week's efforts, aided by a Delaware Indian, who got from me a fine Mackinac blanket for his service, we moved down to Liberty, and there we met Joe Smith and associates, a wagon load of 'em, just brought in as prisoners, having met some thirty of his men a few days before on their way to found Nauvoo. From Liberty I sent all my men home, and visited at Jefferson the governor of Missouri, who would say nothing or do nothing towards settling the boundary dispute; and from St. Louis I fought my way through running ice to Wheeling, whence the stage took me to Baltimore, where I found my wife at death's door from haemorrhage of the lungs brought on by overheat and fatigue in hunting up some Nashville visitors to the city. Hence came my report on the boundary to be dated at Baltimore, where it was prepared whilst I was watching for the end; but a total change of treatment, at my demand, enabled her to travel the next summer, to live in comfort, and to hold out till the following February.⁴⁸

Lea's report, made at Baltimore, Maryland, was dated January 19, 1839. There were, he said, four different lines, any one of which might be taken as the one intended by the act of March 6, 1820, fixing the northern boundary of Missouri — the southern boundary of Iowa. These were:

1. The old Indian boundary, or Sullivan's line, extended west to the Missouri river. This was, said Lea's report, the equitable but not the *legal* boundary. Its long use, he thought, might justify its establishment as such by legisla-

⁴⁸ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 205, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879. The Commissioner to represent Missouri was never appointed.

tion. (The Supreme Court later approved this line as the legal boundary between Iowa and Missouri.)

2. The parallel of latitude passing through the old northwest corner of the Indian boundary. This, said Lea, was neither legally nor equitably the northern boundary of Missouri.

3. The parallel of latitude passing through the Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi River.

4. The parallel of latitude passing through the rapids in the Des Moines River at the Great Bend. Lines 3 and 4, declared Lea, both fulfilled the requirements of the law. The best solution, Lea believed, was a new law specifically fixing the disputed boundary.⁴⁹

Following the report on the Iowa-Missouri boundary, Lea turned to railroad work, rejoining the service of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, running surveys from Cumberland towards Pittsburgh. Here, he says, he "succeeded in making an immense saving in grading by virtue of knowing how to take advantage of the strata to lodge the whole cut on a smooth ledge Latrobe said it was the first instance, in his knowledge, of applying geology to location."⁵⁰

While he was engaged in this work, his wife died (in February, 1840), apparently of tuberculosis. That summer, Lea made a trip to Burlington, then the capital of Iowa Territory, to get a charter for a syndicate to handle his

⁴⁹ For Lea's report on the Iowa-Missouri boundary, see pages 246-259 in this issue, Appendix B. It is reprinted from *House Executive Documents*, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. IV, Document 128, pp. 2-10. The map prepared by Lea is included in the reprint. A full account of Lea's work in this connection is found in Powell's *The Contributions of Albert Miller Lea to the Literature of Iowa History* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IX, pp. 25-29. This report was reprinted in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, pp. 193-207. For the decision of the United States Supreme Court fixing the Iowa-Missouri boundary, see *Missouri v. Iowa*, 48 U.S., 660.

⁵⁰ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 205.

Iowa land. The act of incorporation for the Ellenborough Immigration and Ferry Company was approved on January 14, 1841. This act made "Ellenborough" the legal name of the proposed town instead of "Iowa". It also gave Lea the right to sell stock and gave him and other trustees the exclusive authority to establish a ferry across the Mississippi River at the mouth of Pine River. The company which Lea had hoped to interest in this project turned down the proposition, although their agent reported favorably. As a result, the real estate venture did not prosper and the wobbling rows of stakes marking the town lots were for years the only indications of the dream town of Iowa or Ellenborough. It was possibly on the occasion of his visit to Iowa to get this charter that Lea received the commission as brigadier general of the Iowa militia (1840) which appears on the list of his offices and achievements in the record of West Point graduates.⁵¹

Upon his return to Baltimore, where relatives were caring for his young son, Lea was offered the position of Chief Clerk of the War Department under John Bell, Secretary of War in William Henry Harrison's cabinet, beginning March 4, 1841. After President Harrison died, Lea was acting Secretary of War under President Tyler for six weeks, but apparently he did not fit into the rather strained political organization and he soon returned to Knoxville to look after some business affairs and assist his widowed mother in the management of her farm and slaves. Tiring of inactivity and desiring to remain near his mother, Lea accepted a position as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the University of East Tennessee at

⁵¹ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 206; *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1840-1841*, pp. 53-55; *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, Vol. I, 1802-1840, p. 841. No other record of this militia appointment has been found.

Knoxville, serving from 1844 to 1851. For several years — 1849–1854 — he was also city engineer of Knoxville.⁵²

In the summer of 1845, Lea returned to Baltimore, married Miss Catherine Heath, and brought his wife and his son, Edward, back to Tennessee. Three sons — Alexander McKim, Luke and Albert (twins), and one daughter, named Eliza Lavinia for her grandmothers, were born of this marriage.⁵³ Possibly the establishment of the new home explains why Albert Miller Lea did not take part in the Mexican War. At any rate there is no record of his participation.

In 1851, Lea leased and began the operation of glass works at Knoxville, giving up his teaching position at the University. He imported a colony of glass-blowers from New Jersey and built cottages for their use. The undertaking was a tragic failure. "I made plenty of glass", wrote Lea of this event, "but found no fit market for it, and failed disastrously, losing all I had, and many thousands lent me by a brother then a banker in Washington, now a worn out, poor old man, at Jackson, Mississippi."⁵⁴ Lea

⁵² Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 206; *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, Vol. I, 1802–1840, p. 841.

⁵³ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 206; letter from Miss Lida L. Lea to the writer, dated Corsicana, Texas, February 9, 1935. Luke, one of the twin boys, died in infancy.

⁵⁴ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 207. This brother was, apparently, Luke Lea, two years younger than Albert Miller Lea. He served at one time as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Several other Leas prominent in Tennessee or national affairs were named Luke. An uncle by that name served as Representative in Congress from Tennessee and his great grandson was later Senator from the same State.—Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 664; Armstrong's *Notable Southern Families*, Vol. III, pp. 71–83; Upham's *Minnesota Biographies 1655–1912* in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 428.

turned his property over to his creditors and went back to his old occupation — civil engineering.

In the meantime, the annexation of Texas and the cession of territory by Mexico had awakened an interest in the southwest. Albert M. Lea's oldest brother, Pryor Lea, had located in Texas and had become interested in a railroad which was to connect the Gulf of Mexico with the Pacific Ocean, starting at Aransas Bay and ending at Mazatlan on the west coast of Mexico. His youngest brother, Luke Lea, was also interested in this road. Two companies were formed — the Aransas Railroad Company in Texas and the Rio Grande, Mexico, and Pacific Railroad Company in Mexico. Later some combination seems to have been effected and the joint company was known as "The Central Transit". In 1857 Albert Miller Lea went to Texas as chief engineer of the proposed road.⁵⁵

The following year, Lea issued a pamphlet to promote this railroad project under the title *A Pacific Railway*. In this publication Lea says of the proposed road: "*This is the shortest practicable route for a railway from Portland [Maine] to the Pacific* Political considerations may force a road, at governmental expense, by a more northern route. But this *alone*, it is believed, of all the proposed routes connecting our railroad system in the east with the Pacific, will pay interest on the cost." He called attention to the fact that this was on a direct line with Australia, that it would be easy to build a road in the warm climate, and that Texas had offered a bonus of sixteen square miles for each mile of railroad built. The cost he estimated at \$15,000 a mile.

The chief drawback was the instability of the Mexican government. Of this problem Lea wrote: "Besides, it is but

⁵⁵ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 207.

the continuation of our own system into our feeble neighbor's territory, and with it will go such a train of emigrants from Europe and the United States as to set at defiance the ebullitions [sic] of local antipathies, and suffice to keep in strict subjection the few unquiet spirits that might be disposed to disturb its operations." Moreover an attempt was being made to get the United States government to guarantee protection from violence. "But should our government, through tenderness for a weak neighbor, hesitate to give due protection to its citizens engaged in this work, the British government would not fail to see that the interest of British capitalists, who may invest in it, shall *not* be wantonly or faithlessly sacrificed."⁵⁶

The promoters planned to deepen Aransas Bay to make a harbor which was to rival Galveston, and a dredge boat was put to work. Even the site for the Lea home was selected.⁵⁷ But again plans went wrong. The administration at Washington apparently favored a rival road and was torn by factional strife. And then, before the project was well started, came the thunder of the guns at Fort Sumter. Railroad building waited while armies fought.

Like many other Southern men who held or had held commissions in the United States Army, Lea was compelled to decide between two conflicting loyalties — his country or his State. He had signed his report in 1835 "A. M. Lea, of Tenn." and when both Texas and Tennessee⁵⁸ joined the Confederacy, Lea chose to go with these two States and offered his services to the Confederate government, although he was personally opposed to secession.

⁵⁶ Lea's *A Pacific Railway* (Knoxville, 1858), pp. 3, 4, 6, 14, 16.

⁵⁷ Autobiographical sketch by Albert Miller Lea in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 207, and in *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879; letter from Miss Lida L. Lea to the writer, dated February, 1935.

⁵⁸ Texas seceded on February 1, 1861, and Tennessee on June 24, 1861.

As soon as hostilities began Lea went to Richmond to present a plan for shipping beeves from Texas to supply the Confederate Army. He also had a suggestion as to purchasing arms and supplies in Mexico. Apparently his proposal to bring beef from Texas was not favorably received. L. B. Northrop, Commissary General of Subsistence, dismissed the suggestion with the brusque statement, "There is beef enough in the Valley of Virginia to fight out this war."⁵⁹ Lea was, however, appointed a brigade commissary with the rank of major, apparently by President Jefferson Davis.⁶⁰

Although Major Lea had been associated with both President Jefferson Davis and Commissary General Northrop while in the United States Army, things did not go well. Lea says that he incurred the enmity of both men by writing a letter in which he pointed out that the rations actually furnished the Confederate army did not square with the claims made concerning the food supply. In a letter written many years afterwards Lea said: "I had the misfortune to offend his [Davis's] Commissary General, my Classmate & personal friend, who so influenced the President's views of my deficient devotion, that he never after took the slightest notice of me".⁶¹

In connection with the commissary work Major Lea was sent into eastern Tennessee to purchase supplies, with headquarters at Knoxville. The Confederate authorities

⁵⁹ Lea's reminiscences in the *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), February 27, 1890. Northrop had graduated in Lea's class at West Point and had also served in the Seventh Infantry and First United States Dragoons. He was a special favorite of Jefferson Davis, but was irritable, a poor administrator, and unpopular with the army officers.

⁶⁰ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. IV, p. 406.

⁶¹ Albert M. Lea's reminiscences in the *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 6, 1890; letter from Albert M. Lea to H. G. Day, from Corsicana, Texas. See also the autobiographical sketch in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 207.

also hoped that his influence would win over some of the pro-Union sympathizers, for eastern Tennessee had largely opposed secession. How much success he had is not evident from the records. He says that he tried to persuade William G. Brownlow, former Governor of Tennessee and a radical Unionist, to take an oath of neutrality so that he would be released from jail, but Brownlow refused.

In Tennessee, Lea says, he interfered with some war profiteers by killing and salting surplus hogs instead of buying pork at eleven cents per pound. And these profiteers, remarked Lea, "were zealous patriots each of whom yearned for at least one well fed Yankee for breakfast every morning." Their enmity, coupled with the antagonism of Northrop, was dangerous. A rumor was circulated that Major Lea had sent to the Federal army a copy of a map of the vicinity. This, said Lea, was "more readily credited because I did not join in the common abuse of our foes."⁶² This charge, however, soon died out.

At this time Lea hoped to get a commission for service in command of troops. The following letter written by Lea in August, 1861, presents the situation in eastern Tennessee and his own plans:

Knoxville, Tenn., *August 26, 1861.*

Hon. A. T. Bledsoe, *Bureau of War, Richmond, Va.:*

DEAR SIR: Please to excuse the bluntness of my telegram of this date and also of my letter. As I was going to the depot to forward a letter to the Commissary-General I learned that parties here who seem to cherish the existing feud between Feds. and Confeds. were about to apply to the Department to authorize the formation of a battalion of horse, to be composed of Southern men to the exclusion

⁶² Albert M. Lea's reminiscences in the *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 6, and May 8, 1890. It is possible that the Union Army officers did have a map of the country prepared by Albert Miller Lea for he had done surveying work in Tennessee in 1832, while in the military service of the United States.

of late Unionists, thus keeping alive the distinction which all sensible and good men are trying to obliterate. . . .

When the President changed my destination from Manassas to Knoxville he expressed himself as anxious to have some regiments drawn from East Tennessee, especially from the ranks of the Unionists, whose threatened outbreak I was specially charged to aid in preventing by use of supposed personal influence. I asked you whether cavalry (or rather mounted rifle) regiments would be accepted. You answered yes, but added that your answer was unofficial, and that such authority must come from the Secretary direct. I had already been delayed in Richmond till I was asked why I tarried, and thus left without any written instructions, which I expected to receive here. Having spent four days in the camps near Manassas for instruction, I hastened to this point as ordered, and arrived on Saturday last, but found no orders or instructions. In Richmond I was given to understand that if I could raise one or more regiments here in East Tennessee I would be placed in command according to the number raised, and as I have been placed on that duty unsolicited, I shall expect to be sustained by the Department in the effort, if deemed worthy. In this view I claim that it is my due, the State having closed its recruiting, to have this district of East Tennessee considered as the field assigned to me. But as some will offer as horsemen and some as foot, and I cannot well command both, I willingly relinquish all claim to any consideration on account of the infantry that may be raised and confine myself to mounted men, whom Generals Johnston and Beauregard informed me they much need. I beg you to bring this matter before the Secretary, and let me be specifically authorized to raise as many mounted men as may be wanted. I have with others labored hard and with some success to allay the spirit of disaffection in this region and to produce a calm, which some deprecate, that will probably be succeeded by an active enlistment on our side. I stopped at Jonesborough one day to confer with Col. T. A. R. Nelson, and through him to learn what the Unionists design, and the result of a long interview has strongly impressed me with the belief that he will not only abstain from doing anything hostile to the Confederacy, but that in due time (*i. e.*, as soon as his standing with his party will permit) he will come out openly for the Southern cause, and he has given me aid already in getting up volunteers. At my instance Union leaders now here from different

counties are tonight engaged in preparing an address, adopting Nelson's card (a copy of which I sent to the Adjutant-General yesterday), and advising their friends in Kentucky and elsewhere to return to their homes and submit to "the powers that be." I purpose publishing a handbill, containing a short appeal to my friends and relatives, with Nelson's card; this indorsement of it by his friends and General Zollicoffer's general order holding out the olive branch. This may lead to such mutual confidence that both sides may deem their rifles useless here, and agree to carry them together under my lead against a common foe.

Please to ask the Secretary to telegraph me how many mounted men I may raise.

Very respectfully and truly, yours,

A. M. LEA,
Brigade Commissary.⁶³

Major Lea, however, never found a place in the Confederate military organization befitting his ability and military training. The records of the Confederate Congress show that on August 28, 1861, President Davis included Lea's name, on a long list of nominations submitted to Congress, for a commission as brigade commissary with the rank of major, in which capacity Lea was already serving. These nominations were apparently not confirmed. Lea was again nominated for a commission as major on December 5, 1861, but again without confirmation. This difficulty in getting confirmation of officers' commissions seems to have been due to friction over organization of the army and did not denote opposition to the men themselves. It was not until October 7, 1862, that the nomination of Albert M. Lea as captain, to take rank from May 1, 1862, was approved. No further records concerning Lea appear in the Journal of the Confederate Congress.⁶⁴

⁶³ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. IV, pp. 393, 394.

⁶⁴ *Journal of the Congress of Confederate States in Senate Executive Documents*, 55th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. I, pp. 438, 524, Vol. II, pp. 300, 343, 439.

Late in 1861 or early in 1862, Major Lea was transferred to engineering duty. "A rumor came from Richmond that I was considered a good Engineer, but unfit for Commissary; and in a few days an old friend, one of a syndicate formed to run the contracting business 'for all it was worth,' came with orders to supercede me". On February 5, 1862, a Confederate officer reported to Richmond: "Half of the company of sappers and miners, organized by Major Lea, has been ordered to Cumberland Gap". Major Lea apparently accompanied this half of the company, for he says that it was in battle near Cumberland Gap that he first saw a man wounded in battle.⁶⁵

Apparently referring to the initial battle at the Gap, beginning on March 21, 1862, Lea wrote in his reminiscences:

Where Col. Rains⁶⁶ kept himself during all this day I have never heard, nor of any orders he gave. He called on me for no data for a report, but I suppose he made one, for he was soon after made a brigadier. Although I was the only soldier by profession in the camp and the only man that bore a commission of any grade from the President, I never heard that my name had been mentioned, and I disdained to inquire of anybody about anything, in view of the evident ignoring enforced at Richmond. I fully adopted the course of my beau ideal, R. E. Lee, did my duty as ordered and looked for no approbation or reward but the favor of God.⁶⁷

The enemy, however, gave testimony that Lea's work was not without value to the Confederate cause. Brigadier General G. W. Morgan, a Federal officer at Cumberland Gap, wrote on June 22, 1862: "Before the arrival of our siege guns Engineer Lea, of the rebel forces, constructed a

⁶⁵ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, pp. 118, 119; *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), April 24, 1890. Cumberland Gap was not far from Lea's home.

⁶⁶ Colonel James E. Rains was in command at Cumberland Gap at this time.

⁶⁷ *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), April 24, 1890.

strong work, protected by rifle pits, upon the summit, to the right of Fort Pitts, and convinced that the position could only be carried with immense loss of life, with keen regret I abandoned all idea of attacking the place from the front, and resolved to execute a flank movement and force the enemy to abandon his position, the strongest I have ever seen except Gibraltar, or fight us in the field.”⁶⁸

Late in April, 1862, “Major Lea, chief engineer” accompanied a small detachment sent to obstruct the roads to Purdy and a month later (May 26, 1862), an aide-de-camp wrote to Brigadier General Danville Leadbetter at Chattanooga: “the major-general commanding [E. Kirby Smith] directs me to say to you that he has sent Major Lea to report to you. He will assist you in arranging such a system of defense as you may be able, with his help, to devise.” He added, “Major Lea will report to these headquarters so soon as you can dispense with his services.”⁶⁹

At Chattanooga, Major Lea was working under the direct command of Brigadier General S. B. Maxey who ordered him to Shiloh on some military duty. Upon his return to Chattanooga, Brigadier General Leadbetter told Major Lea that he had been ordered to put him under arrest for leaving Chattanooga without orders from Major General E. Kirby Smith. Lea laughed, but the general said, “I think the matter is more serious than you seem to do; did you not go to Corinth without his orders?” Lea explained that he had gone by command of his superior officer. He went at once to Knoxville to see General Smith and was finally released from arrest after Maxey had verified his orders. During the siege of Chattanooga Major Lea asked for a commission as brigadier general, but there

⁶⁸ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 57.

⁶⁹ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Pt. 2, pp. 434, 435, 552.

was no reply. He also submitted a map of the vicinity to General Braxton Bragg, but no attention was paid to his offer. There was, apparently, nothing he could do for the Confederacy in the east.⁷⁰

In the autumn of 1862, Major Lea was transferred to the Texas front, possibly because of his engineering experience in that area and was ordered to report to General H. P. Bee at San Antonio. On the way to his assigned position, Major Lea met President Davis at Jackson, Mississippi. "He [Davis] was reserved but polite."

At Galveston, on the first of January, 1863, there occurred one of the tragedies peculiar to civil wars. The Confederates were preparing to attack the Union garrison in the city of Galveston and to capture the United States naval vessels in the harbor, and Major Lea knew that on board one of these Union vessels, the sloop of war *Harriet Lane*, was his eldest son, Lieutenant Commander Edward Lea.

This son had been with his ship in Chinese waters when the war began. His father, realizing the conflict between duty to the nation and love of State and family, had written to him to decide as he felt was right. He could not, he said, presume to dictate to one so long "obligated to act on his own judgment"; and decide as his son might, he would continue to regard him "with the respect of a gentleman and the affection of a father".

On reaching Galveston Major Lea reported to the Confederate commander in charge of the assault — the same John B. Magruder with whom Lieutenant Lea was said to have traded locations thirty years before. Magruder, now a major general in the Confederate Army, welcomed his old friend and assigned him to staff duty. And so it was that Major Lea on that first of January, 1863, watched the Union vessel, *Harriet Lane*, and the Confederate gunboat,

⁷⁰ *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), May 1, 8, 1890.

Bayou City, as their crews fought hand to hand. At last the fight was over; the *Harriet Lane* had been captured. The Confederates were jubilant, but Major Lea hurried anxiously to the captured vessel. There, on the battered deck of the *Harriet Lane*, Lea found his son mortally wounded.

The poignant sorrow of the meeting can only be imagined. The father rushed out to secure an ambulance, if one could be had in the confusion, but while he was gone his son died, saying to those who kindly asked if he had any final request to make, "My father is here". The next day Lieutenant Commander Lea and his superior officer, Captain Wainwright (who had been killed before Lieutenant Lea was wounded), were buried at Galveston, with military honors, Major Lea reading part of the Episcopal funeral service at the grave. The last words of Lieutenant Edward Lea are engraved on his tombstone.⁷¹

Major General Magruder was much moved by this tragedy and perhaps also by the failure of his old friend to secure the rank to which he was apparently entitled. Three weeks after the capture of Galveston, Magruder reported that he had sent a corps of engineers under Major A. M. Lea with a detachment ordered to the Rio Grande. "Major Lea", wrote General Magruder, "rendered efficient service on my staff at Galveston, and found his son, Lieutenant Lea, of the Federal Navy, wounded and dying on board the *Harriet Lane*. He is a graduate of West Point, of great merit, and well known to His Excellency the President, to whom I beg leave to recommend him for the appointment of colonel in the C. S. Army for engineer duty with me."⁷²

This request was without effect. The few references to

⁷¹ *The Galveston Daily News*, July 30, 1922; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 219; *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), May 8, 1890.

⁷² *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 215, 238.

Lea in the official records for the remainder of the war show that he was employed in civilian rather than military duties. In December, 1863, "Lieutenant Colonel" A. M. Lea was in charge of the slaves at work on fortifications at Gonzales, Texas. It was his duty to furnish them rations, fuel, and quarters, and to employ a local physician for their care if they were sick.⁷³ The following spring (1864), Major Lea was acting as agent of the Confederate cotton bureau at Eagle Pass, Texas. One of his duties was to pay for arms and equipment purchased from the Mexicans.⁷⁴

But Albert Miller Lea, however disappointed he must have been in his own career, however grieved he was by the death of his eldest son, served faithfully until the war closed. Another son, Alexander McKim Lea, though very young, served in the Confederate Army also.

At the close of the Civil War, Albert Miller Lea settled with his family in Galveston, drawn there perhaps by the grave where his son Edward lay buried within sound of the Gulf. Like many other Confederates, he was without property,⁷⁵ position, or citizenship, and he was no longer young. At first he opened a bookstore, but it was a financial loss and he soon returned to civil engineering. For a time he seems to have hoped to resurrect the Gulf to Pacific railroad project. A single sheet printed on October 1, 1866, with the heading "Galveston as A Railway Centre", signed by A. M. Lea, set forth the possibility of building this road at a cost of some \$20,000 a mile. "The dark cloud, that

⁷³ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, p. 839. These were the able-bodied male slaves between sixteen and fifty requisitioned by General Magruder from the neighboring plantations.

⁷⁴ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 2, p. 962.

⁷⁵ Even the dredge boat had been burned during the war by order of General John B. Magruder through some misrepresentation.—*The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), March 13, 1879.

heretofore obscured from the view of our Northern brethren, and our British cousins also, the sunny plains of the South and the glistening mountains of Mexico, having been dissipated by emancipation, the wave of emigration, having reached its western limit of habitable lands, has naturally turned to the South; and, with the population, the roads are turning.''' Lea also suggested a railroad from Galveston to St. Paul.⁷⁶

But again Lea was disappointed. The South had neither money nor credit. The magic carpet lay westward. Lea went to work as city surveyor and engineer of Galveston and probably also did private engineering work. Working in the sun by day and by lamp light at night, Lea suffered a physical breakdown and for two years was unable to work at all.⁷⁷ Later he opened a land office.

In 1874 the Lea family moved to Corsicana, Texas, where the two remaining sons — Alexander McKim and Albert, Jr. — were in business buying cotton. There, after the many years of travel, Albert Miller Lea spent the remainder of his long life and there he died on January 16, 1891.

In those quiet years, he must have often recalled the long days on horseback as the dragoons marched over the Iowa and Minnesota prairies. In 1879, he was invited to visit Albert Lea and to speak at an old settlers meeting, on June 10th. He said at the time that this was the second speech he ever made. He was then almost seventy-one, but active, genial, and clear in mind. He looked once more upon the lake now named for him and was entertained in the city which also bore his name. A committee met him at the railroad station and the Governor of the State of Minnesota spoke from the same platform. At this time he also went to

⁷⁶ This sheet is in the Library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁷⁷ Letter from Albert Miller Lea to H. G. Day, dated Corsicana, Texas, December 16, 1889, in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Fort Snelling to visit his old regiment, the Seventh Infantry.⁷⁸

As he grew older, reminiscence appealed to him, and several articles from his pen appeared in the *Iowa Historical Record* and in the *Freeborn County Standard*,⁷⁹ published at Albert Lea, Minnesota. For the most part, however, his time was taken up with his garden, his books, his church, and his family.⁸⁰

But if there was peace and quiet, there was also sorrow. His second son, Alexander McKim Lea, died in 1878 of tuberculosis following a severe cold caught in Boston on a business trip north. His wife, Catherine Lea, died six years later (in 1884). The younger son, Albert Miller Lea, Jr., suffered business reverses. And Major Lea himself never fully recovered his health, though his spirit did not fail. Two years before his death, when he was almost eighty-one, he wrote to a friend: "Although I am not suffering with acute disease as much as heretofore for a year or two, yet the Dr. tells me that the swelling of my feet and ankles is very ominous, & that I must keep them *up*, which I will not do; for I have idled long enough & mean now henceforth to work, work *hard*, till I drop off for good."⁸¹

One of Lea's interests during most of his adult life was his church. The Lea family was of the Baptist faith and his

⁷⁸ *The Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), June 5, 12, 26, 1879. Lea's speech was printed in full.

⁷⁹ These articles were suggested by the death of Jefferson Davis on December 6, 1889.

⁸⁰ Two children — Miss Lida L. Lea, still living (July, 1935) at Corsicana, Texas, and Albert Miller Lea, Jr., survived their father. A daughter of Alexander McKim Lea (Mrs. George A. Barker, of Greeley, Colorado) died in 1920, leaving two children, Lida Lea Barker and James William Barker. Albert Miller Lea, Jr., who died in 1912, had three daughters — Mary Jordan Lea, now dead, Lida Lea, and Jessie Lea, now Mrs. Roberts, both of whom now live in Washington, D. C.

⁸¹ Letter from Albert Miller Lea to H. G. Day, dated Corsicana, Texas, December 20, 1889.

grandfather was a Baptist preacher, but Ellen Shoemaker Lea was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church and when their son was to be baptised Albert M. Lea decided to join that church also. His second wife was a communicant of the same church.

While Lea was still at work in Knoxville, he was associated with Bishop Leonidas Polk (afterwards lieutenant general in the Confederate Army) in selecting a site for the University of the South, a Protestant Episcopal institution, located at Sewanee, Tennessee. On July 4, 1857, an outdoor meeting to promote this university project was held on Lookout Mountain and Lea was marshal of the day. Five years later, he was felling trees here to assist in the Confederate defense.⁸² Major Lea was one of the founders of St. John's Episcopal Church at Corsicana and was for years a senior warden there. A window in this church bears his name and that of his wife, Catherine Lea.

By some ironic fate, the name of Albert Miller Lea does not appear on the map of Iowa — the State which his book did so much to name. It has been suggested that Lee County was, in fact, named for Albert M. Lea, and the name was misspelled. Two other men, however — Robert E. Lee, who surveyed the Des Moines Rapids in 1837, and Charles Lee of the New York Land Company — are also said to have been honored when the county was named. The records are silent as to which man was in the minds of the legislators, and the lips of the men who named Lee County are mute.⁸³

But if the plans of Albert Miller Lea concerning Iowa went astray; if his books were lost and his town, Iowa,

⁸² *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea, Minn.), May 1, 1890.

⁸³ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, 1879), pp. 414, 415; Roberts and Moorhead's *Story of Lee County Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 74; Lathrop's *The Naming of Lee County* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IX, pp. 505-509.

failed to become the capital of the State of Iowa; yet his *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory* remains as a witness of Albert Miller Lea's accuracy of observation and keen appreciation of natural beauty and resources; the State he foresaw as Iowa came into being; and the capital city for many years was Iowa City, located, as he had prophesied, on the Iowa River. Thus Iowa owes more to Albert Miller Lea than its name. The book he wrote (now available to all) presents a cameo picture of Iowaland as it was one hundred years ago, when he rode over its prairies at the head of Company I; and on the centennial anniversary of that expedition, the State of Iowa honors the soldier, engineer, writer, and Christian gentleman — Albert Miller Lea.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

Appendix A
REPORT MADE BY LIEUTENANT ALBERT MILLER LEA
ON THE DES MOINES RIVER¹

Fort Des Moines,
8 Sept. 1835.

To Lieut Colonel Kearny;

Sir,

In compliance with your order of 9th August last, I descended the Des Moines River from the Raccoon Fork to the mouth, and have the honor to make the following report on its susceptibility of navigation.

The general course of the Des Moines is southeast and its length from the Raccoon to the mouth is about 266 miles. The Raccoon river is its chief tributary, affording two thirds as much water as the main river itself. Below the junction the river varies from 100 to 80 yards in width and in depth at low water, from 11 inches to 4 feet; frequent rocky bars divide it into a succession of rapids and eddies; it is also obstructed by numerous bars of loose white sand changeable by every rise of water; many snags projecting rocks render it dangerous to boats in rapid motion; and its bends are often so sudden as to render difficult for descending boats to clear them.—This is its character until it receives the Cedar River, which increases its volume of water by about one third. It is 96 miles from the Raccoon to the Cedar; and in this distance there are 19 places affording a channel not more than 14 inches deep, excluding a very rough, rocky rapid, dangerous even in high water.

Below Cedar River, it becomes much wider, being usually about 160 yards wide as far as Keokuk's Village, a distance of 80 miles; the bends also are less sudden, and scarce a snag is visible; but the general depth is less; 22 places in this distance do not afford a depth of more than 14 inches, and a great part of it did not admit the free passage of a canoe, requiring a depth of only 12 inches. Several rocky rapids occur on this part of the river, none however

¹ Reprinted from a photostatic copy of the report on file in the office of the Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.

opposing any serious obstacle in high water except the one just below Opanoose's Village, where there is a sudden fall of 13 inches.

Below Keokuk's village it increases in width to 200 or 225 yards; its course is remarkably free from sudden bends; the current is regular at about 2 miles per hour in low water; the depth is very uniform, & is seldom under 15 inches; the bottom is a smooth blue limestone, sometimes covered with sand and fine gravel; and not a single extraneous obstruction presents itself save a few loose rocks at one place, until within 11 miles of the mouth. The far famed "Rapids of the Des Moines" are near the lower end of the Great Bend; about 10 miles north of the Missouri State line. There is here a fall of 11 inches in 100 yards, but by the removal of a few loose rocks a good channel may be had.

About 11 miles above the mouth, the influence of the Mississippi begins to be felt; the river becomes much narrower, being reduced in width to 80 or 100 yards; the channel becomes crooked; the banks frequently caving in, and snags are abundant; but there is sufficient water wherever there are snags. For 10 miles the river is thick set with snags; but they would admit the passage of large boats in daylight, and this part of the river can never be navigated by night. The backwater from the Mississippi causes frequent collections of drift wood, and renders this part of the river very liable to change its bed as it has recently done to a great extent. It empties into the Mississippi by 4 outlets; the first is a narrow slue, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile long, deep and entirely filled with logs and snags; 1 mile lower down, two other slues put out near together, very short; and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further, the main river is lost in the Mississippi.

Between the mouths of Raccoon and Cedar rivers, the shores are generally rough and broken, being usually formed by hills jutting into the river on alternate sides; sometimes however alluvial formations occur where logs may be seen projecting from a bank bearing the largest forest trees. There is much timber on this part of the river and of excellent quality, including oak, ash, walnut, elm, maple, cypress[?] and cotton wood. From the Cedar to Keokuk's Village, the country is almost destitute of timber except narrow skirts on the banks of the river and of the creeks; but nothing can exceed the richness and beauty of the prairies, gradually rising as they recede from the river and occasionally crowned by a grove of neat looking oaks, free from all inferior growth. Below Keokuk's Village, the shores present alternate hills and bottoms, both covered

with vigorous trees, standing erect and unmolested by the washing of the current, as the river is straight its entire bed is formed of fixed rock; these bottoms are high, level and luxuriant, very inviting to emigrants, as evinced by the number that have recently thrust themselves upon them.

The mineral productions of the river are interesting. Sandstone suitable for building is abundant as far down as Tollman's, 14 miles above the mouth; Limestone highly siliceous, occurs near Racoon river; Metalliferous Limerock shows itself on a level with low water 15 miles above the Cedar, and gradually but slowly rises until it reaches, $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 feet above the water near the Missouri line; where it is supported by a bluish limestone forming a smooth bed for the river; no stone suitable for making lime is to be found above Tollman's. Bituminous coal, of excellent quality, occurs abundantly above Cedar; and I also found large masses of rich iron ore Sulphacite or[?] native Sulphate of iron, Lignite and the earths usually found in coal formations.

As to the practical navigation of the river, I must necessarily have recourse to the statements of others. I was fortunate enough to meet with two gentlemen, well acquainted with the river, upon whose knowledge and veracity I can rely; and I also met a keelboat ascending the river.

Several snags and logs near the mouth of the river and a few loose rocks at various rapids must be removed to admit of any safe Navigation, and to admit the passage of boats at low water. This might be done at an expense of \$500. These obstructions removed there is nothing to interrupt the navigation as far up as the mouth of Cedar, but the want of depth of channel.

The average annual rise of the river in this part is about 8 feet, which would give an entire depth on the shoals of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. These freshets are of short duration and give impetuous currents. There are usually two annual freshets; the first, and by far the greatest, takes place at the melting of the snows in the spring; the second is produced by the Autumnal rains in the humid regions about the sources of the river. During the Winter the river is obcluded by the ice; in the Summer and early Autumn, the water is very shallow.

I met on 15th August, above Keokuks Village, a Keelboat built to carry 18 tons, but having only 9 tons on board drawing 16 inches Water, & well manned. She had consumed $12\frac{1}{2}$ days in

coming from the mouth, a distance of 88 miles. At the same rate, 7 miles per day, it would require 24 days to reach the Cedar, and 38 days to reach the Racoon River.

The following is a succinet statement of the classes of Boats that may be best employed on the river, as far up as the mouth of Cedar & of the time that they may be so employed, from the best information that I can get, and I believe it may be relied on. The times given are of course only approximations.

1. Steamboats drawing $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, from 1 April to 15 June.
2. Steamboats or Keelboats, drawing $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, from 20 March to 1 July.
3. Keelboats, drawing 20 inches, from 15 March to 15 July and from 15 October to 25 November.

Of that part of the river between Cedar and Racoon, I can only say that it affords a greater depth of channel than the river below, and that I believe that Steamboats of 80 tons may run it with less risk than keelboats, though both would be somewhat endangered in descending.

A sketch of the River is given in the general map of our Summers Campaign.

Allow me to remark in conclusion, that the Des Moines is the most beautiful stream that I have ever traversed: and that it is destined soon to become the outlet of great mineral and agricultural wealth. The country is now open to settlers for 76 Miles up the river, and numerous boats will soon be put in requisition to supply the wants of the rapidly growing population.

About 3 miles below the Raccoon there is a position that may serve as a site for a garrison. A series of hills rise gently from the river, on the right hand, and stretch back into the country; they are covered with a slight growth of scrub oak only, but good timber is to be found within a mile or two. A fine spring breaks out from between two of these hills, 40 feet above high water, and another runs out of the bank, about 3 feet above low water. There is a good and convenient landing for boats; and a rich prairie stretches out from the foot of these highlands. This prairie does not afford good grass, but there are probably others within convenient distance that would supply the Garrison with hay.

There is another locality about 9 miles, and a third 15 miles below the Raccoon, either of which might serve as a site. They are both more handsome than the first, as seen from the river, and they

both have timber and good prairie convenient, but I saw no springs near them. The position at the mouth of Cedar, however, is the most beautiful, convenient and healthy on the River.—

Very respectfully,

A. M. LEA, of Tenn.

2. Lt. Dragoons.

Appendix B

REPORT MADE BY ALBERT MILLER LEA ON THE
IOWA-MISSOURI BOUNDARY¹

Baltimore, (Md.,) *January 19, 1839.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith my report on the southern boundary of the Territory of Iowa, and a map² showing the relative position of the several lines in dispute.

The continued illness of the surveyor, and my own indisposition, will account for some delay in the report, and for want of completeness in the map.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT MILLER LEA,

Commissioner, &c., for U. S.

JAMES WHITCOMB, Esq.,

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

Report of the commissioner appointed by the President under the provisions of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to cause the southern boundary of the Territory of Iowa to be ascertained and marked," approved June 18, 1838.

Baltimore, (Maryland,)

January 19, 1839.

SIR: Having received at this place on the 14th of August last, through your office, the President's instructions to me as commissioner on the part of the United States under the act above cited, I promptly repaired to St. Louis, where I had previously informed the Governors of Missouri and Iowa that I would receive their

¹ *House Executive Documents*, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. IV, Document 128, pp. 2-10.

² See page 254 following.

communications respecting the appointment of commissioners on the part of the State and Territory, respectively. On my arrival at St. Louis, 1st of September last, I received a letter from the acting Governor of Iowa, requesting me to defer operations in order to allow more time for the selection of a commissioner on the part of the Territory; also, a letter from the Governor of Missouri, suggesting the propriety of suspending operations until I should hear from the Secretary of State of the United States, to whom his excellency had written on the subject. His excellency stated that he had no authority to appoint a commissioner on the part of the State of Missouri, and desired the proposed survey to be postponed until after the meeting of the State Legislature. In reply, I informed his excellency that I would confine my operations to the ascertainment of facts necessary to be known before the line could be properly established; and with this arrangement he expressed himself satisfied.

On the 8th of September, I received notice from his excellency Robert Lucas that he had appointed Doctor James Davis the commissioner on the part of the Territory of Iowa.

The history of the boundary in question is briefly as follows: In the year 1808, the Osage Indians ceded to the United States all their claim to lands lying north of the Missouri river, without specifying bounds. In 1816, General William Rector, Surveyor General of Illinois and Missouri, finding it necessary to have the limits of this cession established, appointed John C. Sullivan the surveyor for that purpose, with the approbation of the commissioners of the United States then having charge of Indian relations in that quarter. During that year, Colonel Sullivan, accompanied by Pierre Chouteau, senior, one of the commissioners, met the Osages in council on the Missouri river; and thence he proceeded to run and mark the boundaries of their cession, in accordance with the views of the parties concerned. The line, as surveyed by Sullivan, is delineated on the accompanying map; and the field-notes are in the office of the Surveyor General at St. Louis. It begins on the Missouri river, opposite to the mouth of Kansas river, and runs thence one hundred miles north; and thence due east, *according to the field-notes*, one hundred and fifty and a half miles, to the Des Moines river; but subsequent surveys have shown that the general course of this line is north of east, amounting at the east end to two and a half degrees; the error having arisen from want of proper care in making corrections for the variation of the needle.

By act of 6th March, 1820, Congress authorized the people of the Territory of Missouri to form a constitution and State government; and, in describing the boundaries of the new State, the act requires that part of the western boundary north of the Missouri river "to correspond with the Indian boundary-line." As there was no Indian boundary in that vicinity at that time, but the line run by Sullivan in 1816, that must be the line called for in the act.

In July, 1820, the convention of the people of Missouri formed a constitution for the State; and in specifying the boundaries of the State, they copy literally the description given by the act of Congress. Since that time, the State of Missouri has continued to exercise jurisdiction as far north as the line run by Sullivan in the year 1816; and that line has been uniformly treated as the true northern boundary of the State by the authorities of the United States, and by the public at large, without any question as to its propriety, until after the purchase, in 1832, of other Indian lands lying north of said line. At the close of the Black Hawk war in 1832, the Indian title was extinguished to a strip of land about fifty miles wide, lying along the Mississippi river, and adjoining the State of Missouri on the north. This tract was soon settled upon by emigrants, and the district was temporarily attached to the Territory of Michigan. In the year 1836 the Territory of Wisconsin was created, embracing a portion of the country west of the Mississippi, inclusive of the tract just named. During the last session of Congress, the Territory of Iowa was stricken off from Wisconsin, and made to embrace all the country north of Missouri, and included between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers up to certain limits. Hence, the *northern* boundary-line of the State of Missouri has become the "*southern* boundary-line of the Territory of Iowa"; and the determination of the latter consists in the determination of the former, as described in the act of Congress of 6th March, 1820.

After the country along the Des Moines river was thrown open to settlement by the whites, certain rapids in that river became more generally known than previously; and as the law designating the northern boundary of Missouri called for "a parallel of latitude passing through the rapids of the river Des Moines," it was supposed by many that these were the rapids intended. If that supposition were true, then a number of the settlers on the west side of the Des Moines river, and within the limits of the purchase

of 1832, would be included within the State of Missouri; and the question was then raised as to what Government they belonged. The Territories of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, however, have successively claimed and exercised jurisdiction as far south as the old Indian boundary.

By the act of 7th June, 1836, Congress extended the limits of the State of Missouri west to the Missouri river; and by the act of 18th June last, provision was made for establishing the whole line between the State and the Territory.

The information possessed by me, in regard to this line, on my arrival at St. Louis, is contained in my instructions from your office, signed by the acting Commissioner, and dated August 10, 1838. A copy, marked K, is herewith transmitted; and also a copy of its accompanying document, marked D, being the opinion of the Solicitor of the General Land Office on the points of law involved in the case. At the office of the Surveyor General at St. Louis, I was furnished with a map and field-notes of a survey of the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, made in the year 1837, by Joseph C. Brown, Esq., under the direction of three commissioners appointed by the authority of that State. This line will be designated as "Brown's line," and is distinctly laid down on the accompanying map. Other information was obtained at St. Louis, but reference is more particularly made to the letter of the honorable John Scott, marked E, and that of General William Milburn, marked F.

In the second section of the act of 6th March, 1820, the western boundary of Missouri is described as "a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river; thence, from the point aforesaid, north, along the said meridian line, to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through *the rapids of the river Des Moines*, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary-line;" and the northern boundary is described as running "thence, east, from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the river Des Moines; thence, down and along the middle of the main channel of the said river Des Moines, to the mouth of the same, where it empties into the Mississippi river."

Under that phrase, in this description, which requires a part of the western boundary "to correspond with the Indian boundary-

line," the Solicitor of the General Land Office (see paper marked D) has given it as his opinion that the true northern boundary of the State is the parallel of latitude passing through the old northwest corner of the Indian boundary. Although the argument of the Solicitor is ingenious and plausible, yet it was not altogether conclusive; for the call for the northern boundary is "the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines;" and if we assume the old northwest corner to be the point through which the said parallel must run, it *may* not cut "the rapids of the river Des Moines" at all; and, hence, the law would be found to contain incompatible calls. But it is a good rule in law, that a statute should be so construed, if possible, that one part may not contradict or be incompatible with any other part; and, in order to elucidate this point, a preliminary survey became necessary.

If we suppose the position assumed by the Solicitor to be abandoned, and the call for "the rapids of the river Des Moines" to be paramount, then the question arises, Where are those rapids? The commissioners appointed by the State of Missouri to run the line, assumed the rapids in question to be the rapids in the Des Moines river about 63 miles above its mouth; whilst others contend that the rapids contemplated in the law are rapids in the Mississippi river, near the mouth of the river Des Moines. Finding that some preliminary surveys would be required before any conclusive construction could be placed upon the law, and being restrained from an actual demarcation of the line by the unexpected position of the Executive of the State of Missouri, I determined to make a full examination of all the localities concerned, and to make to you a report of all the facts and circumstances of the case, in time for it to be laid before Congress at its present session. Accordingly, after much delay in procuring instruments and equipage, I left St. Louis, with my party, on the 21st September last.

Having ascertained the latitude of the head of the Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi river, and of the point where Sullivan's line strikes the Des Moines river, I met, by appointment, at the town of Van Buren, in the Great Bend of the Des Moines river, Dr. James Davis, the commissioner on the part of the Territory of Iowa. He approved of the manner in which I proposed to conduct the examinations, and joined me in my operations. As I had explored the Des Moines river some years before, and was familiar

with its islands and rapids, Dr. Davis was contented with my representations in that respect, and did not deem it necessary to make any further exploration of the river. It was agreed between us, that wherever the Des Moines river forms the division between the State of Missouri and the Territory of Iowa, all the islands in said river should belong to the Territory, except the large island about three miles below the town of St. Francisville, which should belong to the State of Missouri, as the channel on the side next to that State is dry except at times of high water.

The rapids at the Great Bend are those assumed by the commissioners of Missouri as "the rapids of the river Des Moines," and from which Brown's line is run west to the Missouri river. Believing that Congress *might* declare that to be the true point of beginning, I followed Brown's line westward, for the purpose of testing its accuracy by astronomic observations; intending to recommend its adoption, if found to be accurate, as the definitive line, in case that Congress should declare its beginning point to be the true one. By this course I hope to save both time and expense in settling the disputed boundary. Much sickness, however, in my party, and the unusually early beginning of rigorous winter, prevented me from accomplishing a part of my projected operations. I found that my time would not allow me to test Brown's line throughout; and I also failed in getting the latitude of the old northwest corner of the Indian boundary, after devoting four weeks to that object alone.

The head or most northern point of the Des Moines rapids, as seen from the western shore of the Mississippi river, is at the southeast corner of the square of old Fort Des Moines, and its latitude is $40^{\circ} 30' 53''$ N. On the east bank of the river the rapids are visible about one mile farther north than on the west side; but the point where the main channel of the river becomes first obstructed by the rapids, is a few yards south of that of which the latitude has just been given, and which is assumed as the proper head of the rapids, so far as the boundary-line in question is concerned.

The latitude of the point where the old Indian boundary strikes the Des Moines river is $40^{\circ} 35' 43''$ N. Hence the difference of latitude of these two points is $4' 50''$, equal to 5 miles 2,919 feet. Unfortunately, we have not the precise latitude of the old northwest corner; but, from the results of surveys made on that line, and from data derived from Mr. Brown's survey, I have calculated that

it is south of the point where Sullivan's line strikes the Des Moines river, by 4 miles 27 feet. By subtracting this from the 5 miles 2,919 feet, we have 1 mile 2,892 feet for the distance that the old northwest corner is north of the head of the Des Moines rapids. This result is probably very near the truth, but, from want of precise data, I cannot give it as the basis of any other conclusion.

In ascending the Des Moines river from its mouth, several shallow places with swift currents are found below the "Great Bend;" but there is no obstruction of magnitude sufficient to deserve, or to obtain among the neighboring inhabitants, the appellation of "rapids," below those at the place just named, where there is, at low water, a fall of one or two feet in a distance of about eighty yards; and, in part of the width of the stream the water falls perpendicularly about ten or twelve inches. It is said, however, that when the river rises as much as three feet above low water, these rapids entirely disappear, and that the river assumes a uniform flow. There are other rapids above the Great Bend, particularly those near the Indian village lately known as Appenoose's, and now as Keokuk's, which are about nineteen miles north of those at the Great Bend, and which they much resemble. There are also a series of much greater rapids than either of those already named above the mouth of the Cedar fork of the Des Moines river, and about sixty miles north of the old Indian boundary-line.

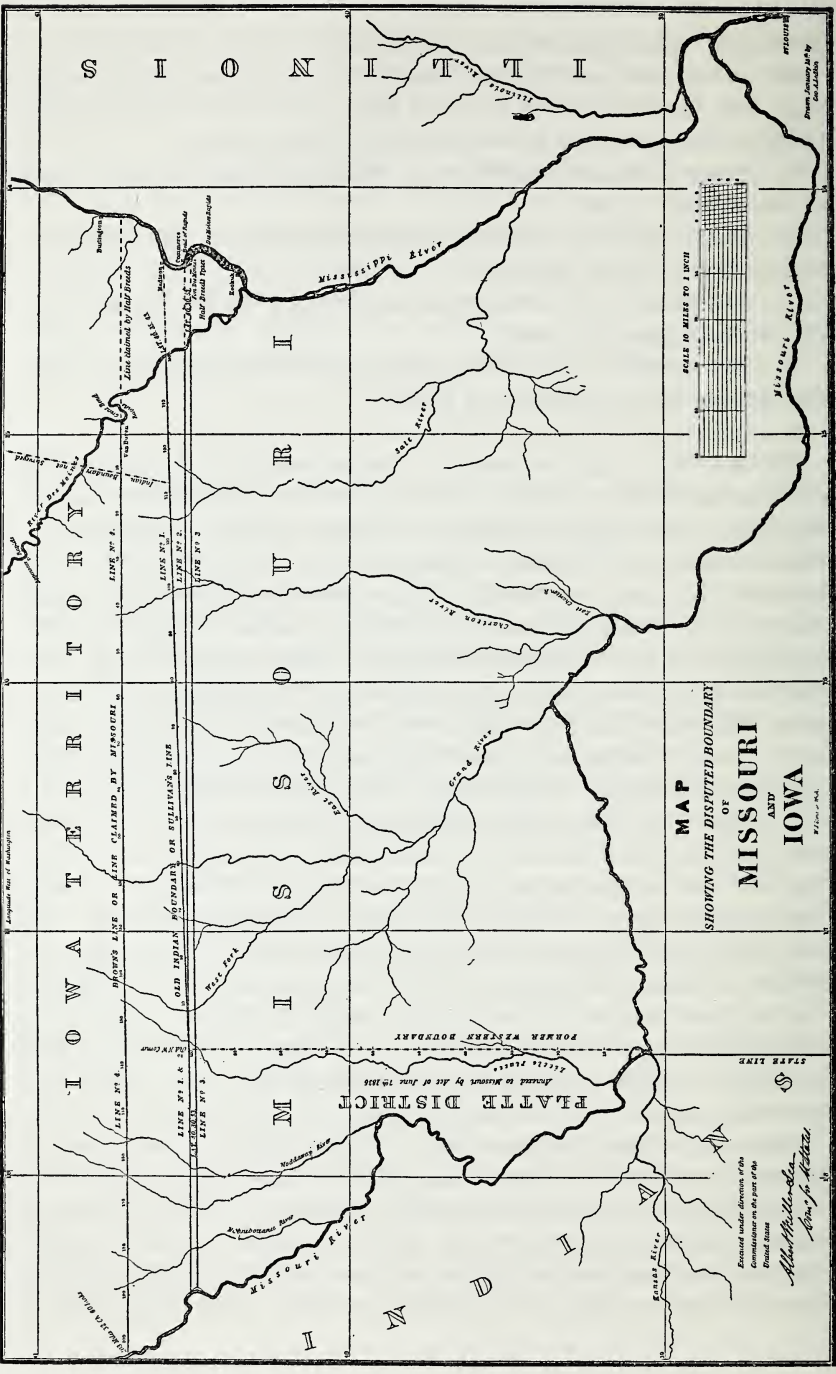
The latitude of the centre of the rapids at the Great Bend was taken by Mr. Brown, and is reported by him at $40^{\circ} 44' 6''$ N. By a series of observations, I determined it to be $40^{\circ} 44' 5.16''$ N., the point from which my observations were taken being about 20 feet south of that used by Mr. Brown. The difference of latitude between the eastern terminations of Sullivan's and Brown's lines is, therefore, $8' 22.16''$, or 9 miles 3,248 feet; and if to this be added 4 miles 27 feet, we shall have 13 miles 3,275 feet, as the distance between the two lines at the old northwest corner, and thence to the Missouri river. From these data, and others deduced from the accompanying map, the area of the tract contained between Brown's and Sullivan's lines is estimated at 2,616 square miles, about one-half of which, lying at the eastern and western extremities, may be deemed excellent agricultural lands; the intermediate portions being of inferior quality. The whole of this tract is still possessed by various Indian tribes, except a small portion next to the Des Moines river, which is attached to Van Buren county, Iowa

Territory, and is supposed to contain about 1,500 inhabitants.

An examination of the preceding matter with the accompanying map, will show that there are four lines, any one of which may be taken as that intended by the act of 6th March, 1820:

1. The old Indian boundary, or Sullivan's line, extended west to the Missouri river.
2. The parallel of latitude passing through the old northwest corner of the Indian boundary.
3. The parallel of latitude passing through the Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi river.
4. The parallel of latitude passing through the rapids in the Des Moines river at the Great Bend.

Of line No. 1.—By reference to the annexed letter (marked G) of General William Clark, former Governor of the Territory of Missouri, and late superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated January 13, 1838, it will be seen that many treaties have been formed with various Indian tribes, in which the old Indian boundary is called for as the northern boundary of the State of Missouri. In the treaties made with the Sacs and Foxes, and with the Iowas, at Washington city, in the year 1824, only four years after the formation of the State of Missouri, (which treaties were made expressly for the purpose of extinguishing the claims of said tribes to all lands within that State,) the northwest corner of the old Indian boundary, or the point 100 miles north of the mouth of the Kansas river, is expressly called for as "the northwest corner of the State of Missouri." These treaties have been ratified by the Senate, and appropriations have been made by Congress to carry them into effect, without any objection to their phraseology by the Representatives of Missouri. Under these treaties, and under that made by Major General Scott with the Sacs and Foxes in 1832, lands have been surveyed, and municipal divisions established, with reference to the old Indian boundary, as the true northern boundary of the State; and in like manner is the same line marked in all the maps in common use in the country. The only known exception to this uniform manner of considering that line, from the year 1820 down to 1833, is that of the Surveyor General's office at St. Louis, where the line run by Sullivan has been reported upon the surveys of the public lands as the "Indian boundary," and not as the State line. Yet, with all



this uniformity of action, this line does not fulfil the requirements of the law, as it is an oblique line; whereas, the law calls for "a parallel of latitude," without reference to the Indian boundary on the north. Moreover, this line does not pass through any point that could properly be termed "the rapids of the river Des Moines," as required by the law. It cannot, therefore, be deemed the *legal* boundary of the State of Missouri; although its long use as such, and the various interests which have grown up under that use, may render it proper to establish it as such by future legislation.

Of line No. 2.—For a full discussion of the legal claims of this line to preference, I refer you to the opinion of the Solicitor of the General Land Office, already cited. The great objection to this line is, that it *may* not pass through any rapids at all, and thus not fulfil one of the calls in the law; and this is probably the case, as shown heretofore. Yet, an actual survey might show a different result; in which case, the second and third lines would become identical. With all due deference to the opinion of the Solicitor, I believe that it is only in this latter case that the second line can have any just claim to preference, under a strict construction of the law; the call for the "rapids of the river Des Moines" being paramount, in my opinion, to the call for correspondence between the State line and the old Indian boundary.

Of line No. 3.—In case that neither of the two first lines should be deemed the true one, the question of the boundary would be reduced to the determination of what is meant by the phrase "the rapids of the river Des Moines." The Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi river, beginning about three miles above the mouth of the Des Moines river, and extending about fourteen miles up the river, have been noted as a great obstruction to its navigation ever since the country was first explored. They are named from their vicinity to the mouth of the Des Moines river, as the rapids in the Mississippi, about the same distance above the mouth of Rock river, are called "Rock-river rapids." When the French first settled the valley of the Mississippi, they named the one "Les rapides de la rivière Des Moines," and the other "Les rapides de la rivière de la Roche." When the Americans took possession of the country, they generally retained the French names of places, merely translating them into English. In formal documents, especially, the names of

places were usually translated literally; and hence, the name "Les rapides de la rivière Des Moines," became "The rapids of the river Des Moines;" the precise words used in the act of Congress in designating the northern boundary of Missouri. In confirmation of this account of these names, I refer you to the annexed extract (marked H) from the records in the office of the United States recorder of land titles at St. Louis, and to reports made by Messrs. Clayton and Huntsman to the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, in the year 1836, on the claim of the heirs of Thomas F. Reddick to a certain tract of land. From these papers it appears that, in the year 1799, permission was granted to Louis Honoré "to settle at the head of the rapids of the river Des Moines," and that a grant of land was made to him at that place, conditioned upon actual settlement and occupation. Under this grant he settled at the head of the "Des Moines rapids," as they are now called; and under this grant and settlement the heirs of Reddick claim the tract at the head of the Des Moines rapids, as the legal representatives of Honoré. The reports of both Messrs. Clayton and Huntsman are favorable to the claim; implying that, in the opinion of those gentlemen, and of the committees whom they represent, "the rapids of the river Des Moines," and "the Des Moines rapids," are the same thing. I also refer you to the letter of Pierre Chouteau, jr., (marked I,) for the name by which the Des Moines rapids have ever been known by the early French settlers and their descendants. It is, indeed, notorious that the name by which these rapids have ever been known among the French is "Les rapides de la rivière Des Moines," and that the translated name has gradually assumed the more familiar English form of "Des Moines rapids." And in the French translation of the constitution of Missouri, sanctioned by the convention, the phrase "The rapids of the river Des Moines" is rendered "Les rapides de la rivière Des Moines" — the precise phrase used habitually by the French inhabitants of the country to mean the Des Moines rapids on the Mississippi. Were there any other rapids at that time generally known by that name? I answer, No: for, as has been already stated, there are various rapids in the Des Moines river of similar character; and they are, at this day even, distinguished from each other among the inhabitants of the country by some additional qualification, such as "the rapids at the Great Bend," and "the rapids at Appenoose's village," &c. When the commissioners of the State of Missouri went

to run their line, (only eighteen months since,) they had to explore the river before they could determine which of its rapids should be selected; and there is still a great diversity of opinion among those claiming to run to rapids in the Des Moines, as to which rapids were intended by Congress. But the use of the definite article "*the* rapids," &c., seems to imply some rapids well known and distinguished by that name; which is evidently not the case in regard to any rapids in the Des Moines. It is proper to observe, also, that the phrase used is "*the rapids of the river Des Moines,*" and not the rapids *in* the river Des Moines: that it is a *name* merely, not designating geographical position; and that it is as applicable to rapids in the one river as in the other. The rapids in the Mississippi were so much more notorious at the time of the formation of the State constitution of Missouri, that many of the members of the convention were not aware that there were any rapids in the Des Moines river at all, and, of course, have always believed the Des Moines rapids to be those intended by Congress. Among the members of the convention who have thus expressed themselves, may be mentioned his excellency Henry Dodge, Captain Nathan Boone, United States dragoons, and Judge Emmons, of St. Charles county, Missouri. Yet, there are others who appear to have had a different view of the matter at the time.

Of line No. 4.—The fourth line, or that passing through the rapids in the Des Moines river at the Great Bend, is understood to be the line claimed by the State of Missouri; and if any rapids in the Des Moines river ought to be regarded as the governing point, I believe that these should be taken, as being the best known on account of their proximity to the mouth and to the old boundary. In regard to the claims of this, the fourth line, I can say nothing more favorable than to refer you to the letter of the honorable John Scott, already cited, in reply to my application for information on this subject. Mr. Scott was the delegate from the Territory of Missouri at the time of the creation of the State; he drew the bill which became a law on the 6th of March, 1820, specifying the limits of the State; and was afterwards a member of the convention of Missouri which adopted those limits. I also refer you again to the letter of General William Milburn, chief clerk of the Surveyor General's office at St. Louis. The character of these gentlemen is too well known to need any comment; and they are so positive and

so circumstantial in their statements of what was the impression of themselves and others on the point in question, that it is impossible to doubt their accuracy. Hence, it is manifest that there was a discrepancy of opinion among those most directly concerned, from the beginning; and hence, also, the difficulty of arriving at the intention of Congress in the use of the words "the rapids of the river Des Moines."

In view of all the facts and circumstances of the case, I feel constrained to say —

1. That the old Indian boundary, or line No. 1, extended west to the Missouri river, is the equitable and proper northern boundary of the State of Missouri, but that the terms of the law do not allow the commissioner to adopt that line.³

2. That the parallel of latitude passing through the old northwest corner of the Indian boundary, or line No. 2, is neither legally nor equitably the northern boundary of Missouri.

3. That lines Nos. 3 and 4, or the parallels of latitude passing through the respective rapids, *both* fulfil the requirements of the law. I am not, however, prepared to say which of these lines should have the preference.

In accordance with your request that I should recommend such further action as I might deem necessary in the premises, I have the honor respectfully to suggest that Congress, during the present session, be requested to declare, by resolution or otherwise, which of the several lines here presented, shall be deemed the southern boundary of the Territory of Iowa. The act of 18th June, 1838, requires that the survey of the line shall be approved by Congress before it be deemed definitive; and it might very probably happen that the line surveyed under the direction of the commissioner might not be approved by Congress. With the information now before them, Congress can as well decide where the line should be, before the actual survey, as afterwards.

Should Congress be of the opinion that the *fourth line*, or that passing through the rapids in the Des Moines river, is the true boundary, I would respectfully recommend the definitive adoption of the line already run through that point by the authority of the State of Missouri. It was carefully surveyed and marked by Mr.

³ This line was finally adjudged the legal boundary by the United States Supreme Court.— *Missouri v. Iowa*, 48 U. S., 660. This decision was rendered in January, 1849.

Joseph C. Brown, of St. Louis, a gentleman in every way qualified to perform the duty.

Should Congress, however, deem it proper to adopt the old Indian boundary, or line No. 1, as the true boundary of the Territory, it is probable that the State of Missouri would acquiesce; as that has generally been deemed her true boundary, and consequently would not derange any of her municipal divisions, or deprive her of any territory over which she has heretofore exercised jurisdiction; and as the "Platte district," a large and very valuable section of country, was added to the State by Congress in 1836, doubtless under the impression that the northern boundary of the State was the old Indian boundary, as represented upon all the maps in use in the country.

But should either of the lines No. 2 and No. 3 be adopted, as it would take from the State of Missouri a portion of territory over which she has long exercised jurisdiction, much ill feeling would be engendered, and tedious litigation might ensue.

Should Congress not adopt definitively the line surveyed by Mr. Brown, an appropriation will be necessary to carry on the survey during the next season. Estimates, according to the several cases, will be forwarded in a few days.

Very respectfully,

ALBERT MILLER LEA,

Commissioner, &c. for the United States.

TROOPS AND MILITARY SUPPLIES ON UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER STEAMBOATS

The constantly recurring outbreaks between the various Indian tribes and friction between Indian and fur traders had made necessary the erection of military posts at strategic points along the Upper Mississippi before the arrival of the first steamboat in 1823. Fort Edwards was located on the east side of the Mississippi at the mouth of the Des Moines River, near the foot of the Lower Rapids. Fort Armstrong, erected in 1816, was situated on Rock Island at the foot of the Upper Rapids. Fort Crawford, also erected in 1816, stood on the outskirts of the little French village of Prairie du Chien, six miles above the junction of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi. Fort Snelling was built on a towering bluff on the west bank of the Mississippi at its junction with the St. Peter's or Minnesota River. It was established in 1819 on a site almost eight hundred miles from what was to be its chief source of supply and reënforcement, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.

Equally dependent on the Upper Mississippi steamboats were the posts situated on the various tributaries of the Mississippi. The second Fort Des Moines, at the Raccoon Fork of the Des Moines River, and Fort Atkinson in northeastern Iowa, Fort Ridgely and Fort Ripley in Minnesota, and Fort Winnebago in Wisconsin were important military posts in the period prior to the Civil War.¹

¹ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, July 5, 1844; Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling*, pp. 18-30; Mahan's *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier*, pp. 65-88, 120-139; Tanner's *History of Fort Ripley, 1849 to 1859*, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. X, Pt. 1, pp. 179-202; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 265; Van der Zee's *Forts in the Iowa Country* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 163-204.

Approximately four decades intervened between the erection of Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford and such posts as Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River and Fort Ripley on the Mississippi River above the Falls of St. Anthony. As the Indian and fur trader frontier receded before the oncoming waves of immigration, the military frontier followed and the distance which steamboats had to travel was consequently increased.

The presence of troops on the frontier gave steamboating its initial impetus. Both the *Virginia* and the *Rambler* carried public stores as far north as Fort Snelling in 1823. Prior to this time keelboats were used to transport troops and supplies to the newly erected forts. To complete the entire journey upstream to Fort Snelling—the most remote point on the Upper Mississippi—the keelboat sometimes took only forty days, but often as many as sixty were required. As early as 1819 the War Department ordered Major Thomas Forsyth to ship \$2000 worth of goods by steamboat to the Sioux Indians above Prairie du Chien in payment for the site on which Fort Snelling was to be established. But at that time it was believed that the rapids could not be stemmed by steamboats and keelboats were used. By the summer of 1826 fourteen steamboats had followed in the wake of the *Virginia* and the *Rambler* and each had ventured northward primarily because of the traffic in troops and military supplies.²

The advent of the steamboat on the Upper Mississippi was of strategic importance to the government. Transpor-

² *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 24, 1824; *Taliaferro Journal*, No. II (manuscript in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society); Forsyth's *Fort Snelling: Col. Leavenworth's Expedition to Establish It, in 1819*, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 140; Petersen's *The "Virginia"*, the "*Clermont*" of the Upper Mississippi in *Minnesota History*, Vol. IX, pp. 348–352; Bishop's *Floral Home; or First Years of Minnesota* (New York, 1857), p. 32; Neill's *Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840*, in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 102–116.

tation by keelboat had been slow, uncertain, and expensive, and the risk great. In 1819, for example, James Johnson charged 3 cents per pound to transport goods from Bellefontaine, Missouri, to Fort Crawford. At \$3.00 per 100 pounds the 389,946 pounds or 194 tons netted \$11,699.28. Despite the fact that St. Peter's was only two hundred miles farther upstream the cost from Bellefontaine was 7 cents per pound and \$9,810.50 was paid to transport 70 tons of provisions to that post. This was more than seven times the usual charge made later by steamboats.³

Steamboats were afforded several ways of reaping profits on the Upper Mississippi. Scientific and exploring expeditions were generally dependent on steamboats for transportation of equipment and supplies. Tours of inspection of the military posts occurred almost yearly. Moreover, troops assisted in conducting Indians to their new homes or to treaty grounds and thereby fattened the pocketbooks of steamboat captains and owners. But more important than these was the transportation of troops in time of war, the yearly movement of troops from post to post during times of peace, and the transportation of supplies and equipment.

SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS

In 1820, three years before the voyage of the *Virginia*, the steamboat *Western Engineer* ascended the Upper Mississippi as far as the present site of Keokuk. The event was significant not only because the *Western Engineer* was the first steamboat to ascend the river on a scientific expedition but also because she was the first craft known to have ascended the Upper Mississippi as far as the Lower Rapids. The *Western Engineer* was built at the United States Arsenal on the banks of the Allegheny River

³ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 69.

near Pittsburgh during the winter of 1818. The boat was launched on March 28, 1819, and "embraced the watery element in the most graceful manner, under a national salute".⁴ She was a dingy looking craft, measuring only thirty tons and drawing but nineteen inches of water light. Her equipment was calculated to strike terror in the heart of the Indians. In form the *Western Engineer* resembled a black, scaly serpent, rising out of the water from under the boat, with waste steam escaping from its sculptured head. A St. Louis newspaper declared that such objects as "artillery; the flag of the republic; portraits of a white man and an Indian shaking hands; the calumet of peace; a sword; then the apparent monster with a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with port-holes, and bristling with guns" would frighten all except the most daring Indians.⁵

A mineralogist, a botanist, a geographer, and a painter, together with a considerable force of troops were with Major Stephen H. Long on the *Western Engineer* when she steamed down the Ohio from Pittsburgh on May 5, 1819. St. Louis was reached on June 9th, thirty-six days after the boat's departure from Pittsburgh. It took the *Western Engineer* almost three months to ascend the Missouri River to a point called Engineer's Cantonment on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River, a short distance above present-day Council Bluffs. Here the expedition went into winter quarters.

The difficulty of navigating the Missouri and the failure of the other steamboats to follow the *Western Engineer*

⁴ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 30, 1819. For an account of the first steamboats built and operated on the Allegheny River see Kussart's *The First Steamboats on the Allegheny River in The Waterways Journal* (St. Louis), Vol. XLI, (December 22, 1928), p. 6.

⁵ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XVI, (July 24, 1819), p. 368; Flint's *Letters from America in Thwaites's Early Western Travels*, Vol. IX, pp. 164, 165.

necessitated a change in plans, and Lieutenant James D. Graham was ordered to steam down the Missouri to St. Louis with the *Western Engineer*, thence up the Mississippi to the "De Moyon" rapids and then down the same stream to Cape Girardeau "taking such observations and sketches on the voyage as are requisite in constructing a chart of that part of the river and the adjacent country."⁶

Little is known of this voyage on the Upper Mississippi, for in making his report Major Long merely states the results of the surveys of those aboard the *Western Engineer*. "The bottoms on the Upper Mississippi", Long reported, "contain less woodland, in proportion to their extent, than those of the Missouri. The prairies upon this river also become more numerous and extensive as we proceed upward." The land was fertile, though hilly, and timbered in spots with cottonwood, blue and white ash, hackberry, black walnut, cherry, mulberry, hickory, and several varieties of oak. The population was located almost exclusively in the river valley and extended upwards about 160 miles. Especially numerous were the Salt River settlements around Louisiana, Missouri, but Long felt that the scarcity of timber, mill sites, and springs of water would prove a serious impediment to settlement in that region.⁷

It was left to Captain Stephen Watts Kearny to record the presence of the first steamboat known to have ascended the Upper Mississippi River as far as Keokuk. In his journal of August 15, 1820, Kearny wrote:

⁶ Flint's *Letters from America* in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. IX, pp. 164, 165; James's *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the Years 1819, 1820. . . . under the command of Maj. S. H. Long* in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIV, pp. 39-45, 96-108, 121-221, Vol. XV, pp. 188-190, Vol. XVII, p. 97.

⁷ James's *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the Years 1819, 1820. . . . under the command of Maj. S. H. Long* in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XVII, pp. 118, 119.

At 8 A. M. we embarked on board our canoe, & descended one mile, to the mouth of the Des Moines, where we found the Steam Boat, "Western Engineer," commanded by Lieut. Graham, who came here a week since, for the purpose of taking observations, &c. Put our baggage on board, & fastened the canoe to her. Near this saw a coffin containing the bones of an Indian tied fast to the centre of a large tree which was done at the request of the deceased to preserve his fame after the extinction of his body.

Proceeded at 10 & run about 15 miles when about 1 P. M. we found ourselves on the Sand bar & from which we endeavored, but without success, to extricate ourselves. The boat has but few hands & those sick with fevers.

August 16th.

At 8 A. M. we succeeded after much exertion in getting off the Sandbar & in endeavoring to cross to the opposite shore to reach the channel, we ran on another bar about 200 yards from the one we left, & found ourselves even faster than before.

At 2 P. M., aware of the uncertainty of the Steam Boat reaching St. Louis, and our party being desirous to proceed without loss of time we took to our canoe, & having a favorable breeze hoisted sail.⁸

Such unfavorable reports and sparse settlements were doubtless responsible for the failure of steamboats to navigate the Upper Mississippi above the Lower Rapids before the voyage of the *Virginia* in 1823.

The *Western Engineer* was built and owned by the government, but three other boats used in the expedition — the *Johnson*, the *Expedition*, and the *Jefferson* — were constructed by James Johnson of Scott County, Kentucky. The contract required Johnson to transport clothing, ordnance, and military stores from Pittsburgh to St. Louis, to furnish supplies, and to supply transportation. Johnson estimated the cost of this service at \$256,818.15, an amount which staggered the committee appointed to investigate the bill, but it was endorsed by Quarter Master General

⁸ Porter's *Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny in Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 127-129.

Thomas S. Jesup. For the forty-day detention of the *Expedition* at the mouth of the Missouri, Johnson demanded \$13,333.33 or more than double the value of the boat. At the same time he asked \$7200 for the thirty-six day delay of the *Johnson*.⁹

Despite the expenses incurred, scientific expeditions were frequently undertaken. Indeed, in 1820, the same year that the *Western Engineer* was ascending the Upper Mississippi to the Des Moines Rapids, Henry R. Schoolcraft was despatched to discover the source of the Mississippi, a task he was not destined to accomplish until 1832.¹⁰ In 1823 William H. Keating led a portion of another one of Stephen H. Long's expeditions down the Wisconsin in keel-boats and up the Mississippi to the sources of the St. Peter's River.¹¹ Engineers were constantly despatched to make surveys, soundings, and maps of the river, and equipment was provided. The Upper and Lower rapids were especially troublesome, and in 1837 Lieutenant Robert E. Lee was sent to report on the best means of eliminating the latter.¹² When the northern route for a transcontinental railroad was surveyed by Isaac I. Stevens in 1853, steamboats carried members of the expedition, scientific equipment, food, clothing, and scores of draft animals to St. Paul. Stevens arrived at St. Paul on May 27, 1853, on

⁹ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 68, 69, 324, 325. See also *Documents in Relation to the Claim of James Johnson for Transportation on the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers*, printed in *House Executive Documents*, 16th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 110.

¹⁰ Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal of Travels. . . . to the sources of the Mississippi River* (Albany, 1821); Schoolcraft's *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake* (New York, 1834).

¹¹ Keating's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River* (London, 1825).

¹² Drumm's *Robert E. Lee and the Improvement of the Mississippi River in Missouri Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, p. 161; Wilson's *The Des Moines Rapids Canal in The Palimpsest*, Vol. V, pp. 117-132.

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board the *Nominee*, having purchased all the draft mules offered in the ports along the way. Such expeditions offered a lucrative income to steamboat captains.¹³

TOURS OF INSPECTION

Another source of profit was derived from carrying inspectors to the various military posts. In the spring of 1824 Brigadier General Winfield Scott left St. Louis for the Upper Mississippi on the steamboat *Mandan*, Captain William Linn commanding. It was on this trip that Scott recommended changing the name of Fort St. Anthony to Fort Snelling. Six weeks later the *Mandan* returned to St. Louis in sixty-two and one-half hours running time. Captain Linn expressed the belief that he could make the round trip of fifteen hundred miles in ten days. Shortly afterwards the *Mandan* ascended the Missouri River to Fort Atkinson.

Jefferson Barracks was the entrepôt for such expeditions and the trips were made when a good stage of water was assured. Having completed their inspection of the posts on the Upper Mississippi, Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth and his officers left St. Louis in the fall of 1831 on board the *Enterprise* for Cantonment Jesup near Natchitoches, Louisiana. Though the number of passengers carried was small such trips afforded a welcome addition to the business of the Upper Mississippi steamboats.¹⁴

MILITARY ESCORT FOR INDIAN TRIBES AND DELEGATIONS

Troops escorted Indian delegates to treaty grounds and the tribes to new reservations. Bound for the conference at Prairie du Chien, a detachment of troops under Colonel

¹³ *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, 1860), Vol. XII, Book 1, p. 35.

¹⁴ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 5, 1824, September 27, 1831; *St. Louis Enquirer*, May 24, 1824; Neill's *Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840* in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 108.

Willoughby Morgan accompanied the three hundred Indians on board Captain Butler's *Planet* when she arrived at Dubuque in 1830. Dragoons and regulars were aboard the *Dr. Franklin* as she steamed back and forth from Wabasha's prairie to St. Paul during the removal of the Winnebago in 1848. Troops were also aboard the *Excelsior* when she conveyed the lower tribe of Sioux to Traverse des Sioux in 1851. After the massacre at New Ulm, Minnesota, in 1862, a heavy military force escorted the Sioux prisoners down the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers to Davenport.¹⁵

MOVEMENT OF TROOPS DURING WAR TIMES

The transportation of troops during war times was usually more profitable than during times of peace, because the work was done under pressure and no time could be lost in obtaining competitive bids. The steamboats *Hamilton*, *Indiana*, and *Essex* departed from Jefferson Barracks in July, 1827, with a detachment of five hundred soldiers under Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, destined for the Upper Mississippi Valley to chastise the Winnebago for attacking white settlers. The progress of this formidable flotilla was interrupted by the low stage of water at the Des Moines Rapids and the remainder of the journey was made by keelboat. In 1831, six companies from the Third and Sixth Regiments left Jefferson Barracks on Captain James May's *Enterprise* bound for Rock Island to quell disturbances of Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago Indians.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Miner's Journal* (Galena), July 3, 1830; *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, May 23, June 7, 9, 29, 1848; *Galena Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1851; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1866, pp. 46, 47, 212, 213; Mahan's *Moving the Winnebago* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. III, pp. 33-52. An account of the incidents of the trip down the Minnesota River was given the writer by Captain John Killeen of Dubuque.

¹⁶ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), July 19, 26, 1827, May 31, 1831; *Mis-*

Upper Mississippi steamboats also played an important rôle in three major conflicts — the Black Hawk War, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. During the Black Hawk and Mexican wars the Mississippi was the chief avenue of transportation and communication, while throughout the Civil War steamboats conveyed most of the troops southward.

With the outbreak of the Black Hawk War in 1832 the Indian question became a national instead of a local and minor issue. Steamboats were promptly pressed into service of the government. Early in April, 1832, the Sixth Regiment of United States Infantry left Jefferson Barracks on board the *Enterprise* and *Chieftain* with strict orders to force the Sauk and Fox to surrender the murderers of twenty-eight Menomonee Indians in the village of Prairie du Chien. Undeterred by this movement, Black Hawk and his followers started up the Rock River where the defeat of the militia at Stillman's Run was followed by Governor John Reynolds's proclamation asking for two thousand mounted volunteers. Thoroughly aroused by this reverse, both State and national government worked frantically to crush the uprising.¹⁷

Throughout the hostilities, conflicting reports trickled into St. Louis from steamboats running on the Illinois and Upper Mississippi rivers. Crowds lounged about the levee awaiting each arrival. Anxious wives and mothers lingered patiently, hopeful for news from passengers and newspapers brought down on the steamboat. Always extolled for their kindness and gentlemanly virtues, captains and clerks became more popular than ever. Pilots received fabulous salaries but the lowly clerk received the plaudits

souri Observer (St. Louis), September 5, 1827, quoted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XXXIII (September 29, 1827), p. 68.

¹⁷ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 10, 17, May 8, 22, 1832.

of the press and newspapers spared neither space nor ink in extolling him.¹⁸

Steamboating was not without its attendant thrills in those days. Dangers of snags, explosions, or fires now became of secondary importance and passengers and crews lived in constant fear of attack by bands of Indians. While making her way downstream from Galena to St. Louis the steamboat *Dove* was suddenly attacked by Indians hidden along the bank. Her sides and upper works were splattered with lead but she managed to run safely through the gauntlet of fire without serious injury. Piloting under such conditions became a real art. To lose one's head and run the boat on a sandbar or into the bank might easily invite a massacre. Throughout the struggle, however, pilots and captains exhibited a skill and daring indicative of the character of the men who operated Upper Mississippi steamboats.¹⁹

Of these pioneer river captains none was better known than Joseph Throckmorton, who for twenty years commanded a dozen different boats and probably had a financial interest in as many more. Throckmorton began his river career aboard the *Red Rover* in 1828, bought the *Winnebago* in 1831, and in the summer of 1832 brought the *Warrior* and her safety barge to St. Louis whence he immediately set out for the war zone.²⁰

¹⁸ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 29, 1832. This issue alone carried news despatches brought by the *Caroline*, *Souvenir*, and *Winnebago*.

¹⁹ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), June 5, 1832.

²⁰ *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, Pittsburgh, Vol. 2, 1831-1835. Enrolments 30 and 31, June 2, 1832, reveal the measurements and ownership of the *Warrior* and her safety barge. The *Warrior*, built at Pittsburgh during the winter of 1831-1832 and owned by Joseph Throckmorton and William Hempstead of Galena, was 111 feet 5 inches long, 19 feet beam, 5 feet hold, and measured 100 tons burden. She had one deck and no mast, a transom stern, a cabin above deck for officers and crew, and a figurehead. Power was furnished by a high pressure engine and three boilers. Her safety barge was 111 feet 8 inches long, 16 feet beam, 4 feet

The *Warrior* arrived at Prairie du Chien just as Black Hawk and his band were retreating toward the Mississippi. She was immediately pressed into service and Throckmorton was given orders to patrol the river above the fort to prevent the Indians from crossing. Lieutenants James W. Kingsbury and Reuben Holmes, with a detachment of fifteen regulars and six volunteers, were sent aboard and a small six-pounder was placed on the bow. The *Warrior* first steamed north to Wabasha's village where about one hundred and fifty Winnebago Indians were enlisted to help patrol the river. Then Throckmorton proceeded downstream and reached the spot where De Soto now stands just as Black Hawk and his warriors were pouring down through the hills to the river. A white flag was raised by Black Hawk and Throckmorton was invited to land but promptly refused. Black Hawk in turn refused to board the *Warrior*, whereupon hostilities began. During the brief engagement the Indians fired hundreds of shots, only sixty of which reached their mark. One man was wounded. Four shots of grape sent the Indians scurrying for shelter.

Having halted the retreat of the Indians the *Warrior* steamed grimly down to Fort Crawford for a fresh supply of fuel. While this brief skirmish was of no great significance in itself it served to check the Indians sufficiently to allow the troops to come up a little later and completely rout them at Bad Axe. Shortly afterwards the Winnebago captured Black Hawk and brought him to Prairie du Chien whence he and eleven of his warriors were brought down to Jefferson Barracks on the steamboat *Winnebago*.²¹

8 inches hold, and measured 55 tons. According to Edward Jones, the Surveyor at Pittsburgh, the safety barge had a square stern, a cabin above deck, and a plain figure. The *Warrior* was one of the few steamboats to tow a safety barge on the Upper Mississippi.

²¹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XLIII (September 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1832), pp. 5, 12, 13, 51, 78, 79.

The picturesque commanders and their forces used steamboats throughout the Black Hawk War. Inscribed in the cabin registers of such boats as the *Chieftain*, the *Dove*, the *Enterprize*, the *Warrior*, the *Winnebago*, and the *William Wallace*, were the names of Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, Brigadier General Winfield Scott, Colonel Zachary Taylor, and Lieutenant Jefferson Davis. Henry Atkinson took passage on the *Warrior* to Jefferson Barracks after the battle of Bad Axe, while Winfield Scott, in forwarding Atkinson's two reports of the battle, dated the letter "steamboat Warrior, near Galena, Aug. 10,"²²

And there were other wars. On May 15, 1846, the *Tempest* whisked up to the Galena levee with news of the outbreak of the Mexican War. The *J. M. White* had brought this news from New Orleans to St. Louis whence the *Tempest* had steamed upstream to spread the news throughout the Upper Mississippi. Four days later the *Red Wing* brought newspaper accounts of the destruction of Matamoros and the killing of seven hundred Mexicans while the *Atlas*, the *Uncle Toby*, and the *Prairie Bird*, arrived almost in her wake with further dispatches. Neither telegraph nor railroad had made sufficient progress to act as a connecting link so the Upper Mississippi Valley relied on the steamboat to transmit the latest news from the front. Since each community had contributed many young men to the struggle, the levee was constantly thronged with people awaiting the arrival of steamboats. There was general rejoicing at Galena when in the spring of 1847 the *War Eagle* came snorting up the Fever River with news of Major General Zachary Taylor's victory at Buena Vista.²³

²² *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 29, June 5, 26, July 10, August 14, 21, 28, September 11, 1832; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XLIII (September 8, 1832), p. 26.

²³ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, May 15, 19, 1846, April 6, 1847.

The outbreak of hostilities with Mexico demanded a quick concentration of troops throughout the Mississippi Valley and steamboats were immediately pressed into service. Almost every downstream craft was crowded with regulars and volunteers. Early in June, 1846, the dragoons stationed at Fort Crawford and Fort Atkinson passed down on Captain Throckmorton's *Cecelia*. Shortly afterwards volunteers from Galena and Jo Daviess County, composed chiefly of young miners, departed for Alton on the *St. Anthony*. During the winter it was necessary for troops to march overland and on February 2, 1847, a company of weather-beaten but healthy soldiers arrived at Galena after a four hundred mile tramp from St. Peter's. Spring brought a revival of traffic, however, and Captain John H. King recruited sixty-four men in Galena and departed immediately on the *War Eagle*. Two weeks later one hundred Illinois volunteers left Galena and Savanna for Cairo. Of the sixty and more craft which plied the Upper Mississippi during the course of the Mexican War, few failed to secure a fair share of the troops and supplies moving southward.²⁴

During the winter of 1860 the importance of the impending struggle on Upper Mississippi steamboats was quickly recognized. Eastern newspapers sympathized with the northwestern States because they felt that secession would close the Mississippi River and prevent western products from moving southward. But a Dubuque newspaper editor thought this unlikely and believed that the South would grant free trade at both New Orleans and Mobile, which was exactly what the East did not want. A week later the same editor observed that the prospect of being blocked by the South was a less important problem for Senator James W. Grimes and other Iowa Congressmen to solve

²⁴ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, June 26, July 3, 1846; February 2, April 6, 20, 1847; *Bloomington Herald*, June 26, 1846.

than was the urgent need of appropriations for improving the Upper and Lower rapids.²⁵

Excitement was at a fever pitch during those early Civil War days. Galena citizens were thoroughly alarmed when the steamboat *La Crosse* arrived at their levee with 224 kegs of powder from the Platteville powder mills presumably destined for Pike's Peak. Fearful lest the powder should fall into the hands of secessionists at Hannibal or St. Louis and in accordance with the Illinois Governor's telegram to "detain it by all means", the mayor of Galena forbade the captain of the *La Crosse* to take it downstream. A little later the powder was ordered to be forwarded to La Salle, Illinois.²⁶

Thousands of regulars and volunteers were transported by steamboat during the Civil War. Generous quotas of volunteers were contributed by the various towns along the Mississippi and its tributaries as far north as St. Paul. Late in April the *Sucker State* left Dubuque with a dozen members of the Governor's Greys on board, while her sister ship, the *Hawkeye State*, carried a portion of the First Iowa Regiment from Davenport to Keokuk. Eight boxes of uniforms for the Dubuque "Greys" were shipped to Keokuk on board the *Key City*. Early in June the *Canada* passed Dubuque with three hundred troops from McGregor, Iowa, and on her next trip she brought three companies of volunteers from further upstream. These were met at the levee by the Dubuque volunteers and made a "grand appearance" parading through the streets. Shortly afterwards the Washington Guards of Dubuque, the Pioneer Greys of Black Hawk County, and the Union Guards of Butler County left Dubuque on the *Key City*. Throughout the season the *Jennie Deans*, the *Denmark*, the

²⁵ *The Herald* (Dubuque), January 30, February 7, 1861.

²⁶ *The Herald* (Dubuque), April 27, 1861.

Henry Clay, the *Pembina*, the *Bill Henderson*, and two score other craft took companies of volunteers to the various points below. So gratifying were the returns from such employment during the first few months of the war that the Northern Line Packet Company of St. Louis did an unprecedented thing: it reduced the fare for transporting troops!²⁷

Despite this activity in transporting troops, the war had, at first, a depressing effect on steamboating. In commenting on an item in the Keokuk press the *Dubuque Herald* of June 2, 1861, declared that a similar situation would soon exist all along the river if the war continued. The Keokuk despatch read:

To sustain a river news column with the business that's now doing and the number of boats running, would be an impossibility. If our soldiers were not daily exercising on the Levee we would see grass grow there in abundance. The public can judge what business there is when six regular liners do the whole of it from St. Louis to the upper Lakes. Only for the mail the Keokuk and St. Louis Packet could not make expenses to run one boat and make weekly trips. The Northern Line boats bring up a great many passengers but very little freight, and their return freights are equally meagre, and totally destitute of passengers. Produce finds no outlet below us, and merchants just order sufficient to keep their stock assorted.

So many steamboats lay idle at the various ports, that the *Herald* of June 11, 1861, proposed that an excursion be run to Keokuk to allow the relatives and friends an opportunity to visit the three hundred volunteers encamped at that point.

But navigation slowly revived as the summer wore on, for a better stage of water and the movement of grain southward once more called steamboats into action. Cap-

²⁷ *The Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, June 1, 3, 6, 13, 1861.

tain Datus E. Coon's company of sixty-five cavalrymen was given a rousing farewell when the *Denmark* departed from Dubuque in August. The cheers of the company from the hurricane deck of the *Denmark* were heard on the bluffs of the city half a mile distant.²⁸

In November, 1861, a flotilla of steamboats carried the Third Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers southward from St. Paul. Throngs of cheering people gathered at the various towns along the Mississippi to see the troops. The levee at Red Wing was "jammed" with the largest crowd ever to gather there. Each boat was greeted with cheers and a salute. When the steamboat with the Goodhue County volunteers arrived, an immense bonfire was lighted near the point where the boat landed. The soldiers were allowed a half hour ashore which was spent in hurried greetings and farewells to relatives and friends.²⁹

MOVEMENT OF TROOPS DURING PEACE TIMES

The movement of troops during times of peace was more profitable than in times of war when viewed over a period of three decades. As has already been pointed out, prior to the voyage of the *Virginia* in 1823 troops had usually been transported by keelboat, a method which was as costly as it was slow. In 1821, for example, it took the keelboat *James Ross* sixteen days to convey a detachment of the Fifth Infantry from Prairie du Chien to St. Peter's. Although no rapids impeded its progress the *James Ross* averaged but thirteen miles per day for the two hundred and twelve miles of river between Fort Crawford and Fort St. Anthony.

Keelboats generally descended with great facility. On October 13, 1821, the *Saucy Jack* left St. Peter's with

²⁸ *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), August 18, 1861.

²⁹ *Goodhue County Republican* (Red Wing), November 22, 1861.

Colonel Snelling on board. Gliding along at the rate of eight miles an hour the *Saucy Jack* traveled throughout the night and by sunrise reached the foot of Lake Pepin, a distance of eighty miles. Four days were required to reach Prairie du Chien. This was exceptionally good time and meant that wind and water were favorable. The *Saucy Jack* probably consumed about sixty-five hours running time so that the average rate of speed was approximately three miles per hour downstream. Three years later, in 1824, the steamboat *Mandan* ran from St. Peter's to St. Louis in sixty-two and one-half hours running time, an average of almost twelve miles per hour downstream.³⁰

To facilitate the transportation of troops and supplies Brigadier General Henry Atkinson invented a new type of craft. The new boat made the trip from St. Louis to St. Charles on the Missouri River in two days or half the time usually consumed by the keelboat. It was estimated that Atkinson's boat could average twenty miles a day and make thirty in an emergency. The following description of Atkinson's strange craft has been left us:

The machinery consists of a shaft, thrown across the centre of the boat, with a water wheel at each end — a five feet cog wheel in the centre of the shaft, and put in motion by another cog wheel, three feet four inches, resting on an iron shaft, which supports a fly wheel at one end, of eight feet in diameter. The fly and small cog wheel are moved by a crank, projecting from an arm of the fly wheel, with two pitmans, which are impelled by soldiers, seated on from eight to ten benches, four abreast, with a succession of cross bars before each bench, contained in a frame that moves on slides, with a three feet stroke of the crank. The men are comfortably seated under an awning, sheltered from the sun and rain — the labor much lighter than rowing with a common oar, and the boats are propelled with a velocity sufficient to stem the most rapid current of the Missouri.³¹

³⁰ *Taliaferro Journal*, No. II; *St. Louis Enquirer*, May 24, 1824.

³¹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XXVII (November 6, 1824), pp. 149, 150.

After the successful navigation of the Upper Mississippi by the *Virginia*, however, it was only on rare occasions that keelboats and similar craft were resorted to. Thus, in 1826, thirty-five keelboats arrived at St. Louis from Green Bay bringing the Third Regiment of Infantry. During the driest season the flotilla had to portage only twenty-five hundred yards between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.³² Again, the low stage of water in 1827 forced the troops under Brigadier General Atkinson to disembark from the *Missouri* and *Illinois* at the foot of the Lower Rapids and complete the remainder of the journey to Prairie du Chien by keelboat. With a few such exceptions, however, the transportation of troops after 1825 was performed by steamboat.³³

Attacks were often made in Congress against the expenditure of large sums yearly for transporting soldiers from post to post, but the policy was warmly defended by Major General Jacob Brown. He asserted that the army looked to the government for "justice and impartiality" in the distribution of troops, some of whom would, if no changes were made, be located in unhealthy surroundings for long periods with no hope of a transfer. The occasional movement of troops was also necessary for the "preservation of discipline and efficiency" and it was held that the morale and general condition of the troops was kept at such a high level that the good results more than compensated for the expenditures involved in transportation.³⁴

Despite these occasional outbursts in Congress the movement of troops continued and steamboats reaped rich profits. The steamboat *Missouri* left Jefferson Barracks in the spring of 1828 with six companies of the First United

³² *St. Louis Herald*, November 8, 1826, quoted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XXXI (December 9, 1826), p. 226.

³³ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), July 19, 26, 1827.

³⁴ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 655, 656.

States Infantry and two of the Third, under Colonel John McNeil. Three companies of the First were destined for Fort Snelling, three for Fort Howard, four were to disembark at Fort Crawford, while but two were to be left at Fort Armstrong. At the same time the steamboat *Illinois* ascended the Missouri River with fourteen companies under Colonel Henry Leavenworth for Cantonment Leavenworth.³⁵

In 1837 the entire First Regiment of Infantry stationed at Fort Crawford and Fort Snelling was ordered to the Red River where a half dozen regiments had already been concentrated.³⁶ Two years later the *Pike* arrived at Galena bound for Fort Snelling with eighty new recruits from Covington, Kentucky. Shortly afterwards the *Pike* returned to Prairie du Chien to pick up one hundred troops destined for Fort Snelling. At that time there were two hundred soldiers at Fort Crawford and three hundred at Fort Snelling.³⁷

Steamboats engaged in conveying troops on the Upper Mississippi met with an occasional accident but the casualties were only minor in character. Thus, in April, 1842, the *Illinois* sank on the Lower Rapids while ascending the Mississippi with troops from Jefferson Barracks. At the same time the *Galena* passed upstream with 358 soldiers on board, 130 of whom were destined for Fort Snelling while the remainder were to be discharged at Fort Crawford. The *Galena* broke her machinery on the way up and blew a cylinder while bound downstream. She was towed from Galena to St. Louis by the *New Brazil*. On April 27, 1865, the *Sultana* exploded on the lower Mississippi with a

³⁵ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 29, 1828.

³⁶ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 31, 1837, quoted in the *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, June 10, 1837.

³⁷ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, September 3, 21, 1839.

loss of 1647 lives, the worst disaster ever to befall a steamboat on western waters. Most of those aboard were exchanged Union soldiers bound homeward.³⁸

Immense profits were reaped by steamboats for transporting soldiers in time of peace. The *Canada* passed Dubuque in July of 1860 with the largest load of the season, having on board deck passengers who had paid \$1672 in fares and cabin passengers whose fares amounted to \$2000, while towing two barges loaded to the water's edge with freight. The *Canada* had been obliged to refuse both freight and passengers at every point below. Most of the passengers aboard the *Canada* were United States troops bound for some point upstream.³⁹

Two factors are essential in estimating the cost of transporting troops during peace in the period from 1823 to 1861. These are the number of troops carried and the distance traveled. Although the number of soldiers conveyed is not known it would seem fair to assume that at least five hundred fresh troops on an average were moved about each year to the half dozen posts in existence at one point or another throughout this period. In estimating the distance traveled one must take into consideration the fact that the steady influx of immigrants swept back the frontier line. Fort Edwards, but two hundred miles distant from St. Louis, was the post closest to Jefferson Barracks in 1823 and was beyond the settled area, but by 1861 Fort Snelling was the fort on the Upper Mississippi nearest to Jefferson Barracks, while Fort Ripley and Fort Ridgely were located on the outer fringe of settlement. With this in mind the average distance traveled was possibly about six hundred miles. The government probably paid Upper Mississippi steamboats \$40 a round trip fare or \$20,000

³⁸ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, April 30, 1842; Gould's *Fifty Years on the Mississippi* (St. Louis, 1889), p. 437.

³⁹ *The Herald* (Dubuque), July 24, 1860.

annually for transporting five hundred soldiers six hundred miles. At this rate approximately \$750,000 was expended in the decades preceding the Civil War.⁴⁰

TRANSPORTATION OF SUPPLIES

More prosaic but equally as important was the transportation of supplies and equipment to the various posts on the Upper Mississippi. Each year newspapers carried advertisements inviting merchants to submit bids for furnishing huge quantities of pork, flour, whiskey, beans, soap, candles, vinegar, and salt to the forts on the frontier. Separate proposals were also solicited for furnishing fresh beef on the hoof. Sometimes the cattle were driven overland but usually they were transported northward in pens constructed on the lower deck of the steamboat. Even if such stock was not seen its presence was otherwise noted by those deck and cabin passengers forced to locate in the vicinity of the cattle pen.

In 1823 the *Missouri Republican* advertised for bids for the posts at New Orleans, Pensacola, Baton Rouge, Natchitoches, Fort Smith (Arkansas), Council Bluff, Green Bay, Saginaw Bay, Superior, Mackinac, Pittsburgh, Niagara, Fort Edwards, Fort Armstrong, Prairie du Chien, and St. Peter's. The provisions were to pass St. Louis for their ultimate destination by April 15, 1824, and if destined for posts above St. Louis such as St. Peter's they were to be aboard the boat and ready at that time. Each post had a definite time limit set for final delivery. Thus, Fort Edwards and Fort Armstrong were to receive their goods by May 15th, Fort Crawford by June 1st, while June 15th was set as the date for final delivery at St. Peter's.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Since the government usually paid a higher tariff than did ordinary passengers, the round trip fare has been placed somewhat above the regular rate.

⁴¹ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), August 6, 1823, August 26, 1824, July 26, 1827; *St. Louis Enquirer*, October 18, 1824.

The amount of provisions and supplies was of course governed by the number of troops at each post. In 1824 Fort Edwards received 60 barrels of pork, 125 barrels of fine fresh flour, 700 gallons of good proof whiskey, 55 bushels of good sound beans, 880 pounds of good hand soap, 220 pounds of tallow candles with cotton wicks, 14 bushels of salt, and 225 gallons of cider vinegar. The consignments that year for the posts above were as follows:⁴²

	Armstrong	Crawford	Snelling
Pork (barrels)	60	120	360
Flour (barrels)	125	225	750
Whiskey (gallons)	700	1400	4200
Beans (bushels)	55	110	330
Soap (pounds)	880	1760	5280
Candles (pounds)	430	860	
Salt (bushels)	14	28	84
Vinegar (gallons)	225	450	1350

Similar announcements were made in succeeding years. The *Missouri Republican* of July 26, 1827, requested bids for supplies and provisions for Upper Mississippi posts and on October 1st, the same paper called for separate and sealed proposals for furnishing 35,000 pounds of fresh beef to Fort Snelling, 30,000 to Fort Crawford, and 15,000 to Fort Armstrong. The beef was to be delivered on the hoof before June 1, 1828.

Early each spring Upper Mississippi steamboats began transporting military supplies. On April 1, 1824, Captain William Linn arrived at St. Louis from New Orleans with the *Mandan*. After spending five days in port loading a cargo of military supplies the *Mandan* departed on April 5th for St. Peter's with her guards dripping. She returned to St. Louis on May 17th, having taken forty-two days for

⁴² *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), August 6, 1823.

the round trip. A low stage of water on the rapids, an ice-locked Lake Pepin, some unforeseen engine trouble, or a sand bar studded channel must have delayed the *Mandan* on her voyage upstream for she required less than three days running time to return. On her way down she met the *Indiana* bound for St. Peter's with a cargo of provisions and supplies from Louisville. The *Indiana* left St. Louis on May 13th, commanded by S. Craig, and returned on June 5, 1824, having consumed twenty-three days in making the round trip. The *Virginia* required twenty days to complete the journey upstream the previous year.

Low water made the passage over the rapids difficult and often dangerous. The time of arrival and departure of steamboats was extremely uncertain at such times for their speed was reduced by one-half and the delay occasioned by sand bars tended to quadruple the time of a trip. Early in April the *Indiana* carried military supplies to Fort Edwards. It took sixteen days to complete the round trip of four hundred miles. Late in June she departed for the same post with an immense cargo and returned in six days! On a previous voyage, the *Indiana* made the run to Fort Armstrong and back to St. Louis in the astonishing time of five days, running two hundred miles farther and picking her way up and back over a fourteen mile stretch of the Lower Rapids!⁴³

By July 31, 1824, four steamboats — the *Virginia*, the *Rambler*, the *Mandan*, and the *Indiana* — had visited Fort Snelling. Under date of May 17, 1826, Major Lawrence Taliaferro recorded three of these together with the *General Neville*, the *Rufus Putnam*, the *Lawrence*, the *Scioto*, the *Eclipse*, the *Josephine*, the *Fulton*, the *Red Rover*, the *Black Rover*, the *Warrior*, the *Enterprise*, and

⁴³ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), August 9, 1824; Petersen's *The "Virginia", the "Clermont" of the Upper Mississippi*, in *Minnesota History*, Vol. IX, p. 361.

the *Volant*. Most of the goods received at Fort Snelling on these steamboats consisted of supplies and provisions for the military. Taliaferro notes, for example, that the steamboat *Scioto* arrived on Friday, May 26, 1826, with public stores and some Indian goods for himself and the Columbia Fur Company. Among the passengers were Mr. Langham, the sub-agent at St. Peter's and Major John Fowle of the Fifth Infantry. The *Scioto* left for Prairie du Chien the next day to bring up the balance of the public stores and returned on June 1st, having made the round trip in six days.⁴⁴

According to an estimate made on March 22, 1844, by Secretary of War William Wilkins, the public property transported annually on the waters of the Upper Mississippi was valued at \$273,213.90. The clothing and quartermaster's stores furnished annually to the troops on the Mississippi and its tributaries above the mouth of the Missouri amounted to \$25,000. Clothing and equipment for Fort Snelling was valued at \$4,041.93; for Fort Crawford \$5,389.24; for Fort Des Moines \$3,579.78; for Fort Atkinson \$3,579.78; and for Fort Winnebago \$1,347.31; or a total of \$17,938.04. The quartermaster's stores for the same posts amounted to \$7,061.98. Small arms, ammunition, and paints for gun carriages, to the amount of \$5,910.00, were also sent to the companies stationed at Fort Atkinson, Fort Des Moines, and Prairie du Chien in 1844.

The quantity and value of the subsistence shipped to the same posts in 1844 were as follows:

<i>Post</i>	<i>Companies</i>	<i>Bulk in Barrels</i>	<i>Value</i>
Fort Snelling	3	822	\$5,992.30
Fort Crawford	4	1073	7,481.40

⁴⁴ Taliaferro *Journal*, No. III, May 17, 26, 27, June 1, 1826.

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Fort Atkinson	2	530	3,757.40
Fort Des Moines	2	530	3,791.20
Fort Winnebago	1	270	2,371.60
Total	12	3225	\$23,393.90

In concluding his report, Commissioner of General Sub-sistence George Gibson complained bitterly that the rapids made it necessary to ship a whole year's supply early each spring during a good stage of water.⁴⁵

While steamboats continued to be actively engaged in transporting troops and supplies in the decade before the Civil War their trips were confined chiefly to Fort Snelling and the posts above. Destined for work among the Indians on the Des Moines River, 150 soldiers embarked from Fort Snelling on the *Highland Mary* in May of 1850. Three years later the *Ben Campbell* arrived at St. Paul with a cargo of five hundred tons of freight, most of which was consigned to the government. Fort Madison and Burlington provided the *Ben Campbell* with these goods, the largest cargo to reach St. Paul that season. On August 1, 1857, the *Northern Light* came booming up to the St. Paul wharf with Company L of the Second Artillery in command of Major Hays. The troops had traveled sixteen hundred miles in six days "giving a fair impression of the celerity with which troops can be concentrated in exposed parts of the country, by means of railroads and steamboats."⁴⁶

It would be difficult to overestimate the relative importance of the trade for which the presence of the military was responsible. In 1853 the trade of St. Paul in govern-

⁴⁵ *Senate Documents*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Doc. No. 242, pp. 1, 2. (Serial 434)

⁴⁶ *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* (Galena), May 21, 1850; *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), May 21, 1853; *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), August 2, 1857.

ment supplies actually exceeded that of supplying goods to settlers.⁴⁷ Although the exact amount is not known, the receipts from transporting supplies was perhaps as great as those derived from conveying troops during times of peace, so that one might estimate approximately \$1,500,000 was earned by steamboats engaged in this work. An additional \$500,000 was probably netted during the Black Hawk, the Mexican, and the Civil War. The total income from transporting scientific expeditions, assisting in engineering projects, and conveying United States Army officers on tours of inspection of the military posts was perhaps \$750,000. The commerce arising from the military frontier before the close of the Civil War may have yielded Upper Mississippi steamboats almost \$3,000,000. While the trade arising from the Indian and the fur trader did not equal this steady traffic in military forces and supplies, the three combined were significant factors in stimulating steamboating on waters far beyond the settlers' frontier.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

⁴⁷ *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), April 2, 1853.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The American Way. By John W. Studebaker. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1935. Pp. 206. Plates. The sub-title of this book, *Democracy at Work in the Des Moines Forums*, indicates the general subject treated. The six chapters deal with public education in a democracy, free discussion, a history of the Des Moines public forums and a survey of their work, and a plea for Federal support for public forums. The appendix includes data on the personnel, subjects, instructions and regulations, study guides, attendance, and budget. The volume is provided with an index.

Justice Samuel F. Miller, by Charles Fairman, is one of the articles in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March.

Recent Discoveries in Minnesota Prehistory, by Albert Ernest Jenks; *Bridges Facing East*, by Charles M. Gates; and *Thoreau in Minnesota*, by John T. Flanagan, are the three articles in the March issue of *Minnesota History*. There is also a report of the Historical Society for 1934 and a short article on *Some Sources for Northwest History: Account Books*.

Roadside Planting on Historic Highways, by R. B. Hull; *Indiana in Contention Between France and England*, by Theodore C. Pease; *Some Phases of Recent Archaeological Work*, by William S. Webb, and *Pioneers of the Future*, by William C. Dennis, are some of the addresses and papers printed in full or in part in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for February.

The April issue of the *Journal of The Illinois State Historical Society* includes the following articles: *John Dean Caton's Reminiscences of Chicago in 1833 and 1834*, edited by Harry E. Pratt; *The Indian Boundary Line under the Treaty of August 24, 1816*, by Charles G. Davis; *A Newly Discovered Speech of Lincoln*, by

Ernest E. East; and *An Aboriginal Village Site in Union County*, by Bruce W. Merwin.

Mark Twain, America's Most Widely Read Author, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; *The Mark Twain Centennial, 1835-1935*, by Roy T. King; *Steamboat Navigation On The Osage River Before the Civil War*, by Gerard Schultz; *The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier (1830-1860)*, Pt. V, by Carle Brooks Spotts; and *The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri*, Pt. V, by Ruby Johnson Swartzlow, are the articles and papers in the April issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*.

Volume XX of the *Indiana Historical Collections* contains *The Laws of Indiana Territory 1809-1816*, edited by Louis B. Eubank and Dorothy L. Riker, with a foreword by Governor Paul V. McNutt. The earlier laws of Indiana Territory (from 1801 to 1809) were printed several years ago as Volume XXI of the *Illinois Historical Collections*. A collection of *Laws of the Northwest Territory 1788-1800* was also reprinted by the Illinois State Historical Library as Volume XVII in the *Collections*.

The French Foundations 1680-1693, Volume I of the new French Series, edited by Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner, has recently been issued as Vol. XXIII of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*. It includes French documents relating to the Illinois country, and the translations into English. One of these is a description of the Illinois region referred to as the "De Gannes Memoir" which the introduction explains was probably written by Sieur Delietto, a nephew of Henri de Tonti.

The Need of Historical Materials for Agricultural Research, by Everett E. Edwards; *The Rise and Decline of the Sheep Industry in Northern New England*, by Harold F. Wilson; and *Agricultural Policy in New France*, by H. M. Thomas, are the three articles in *Agricultural History* for January. The April issue includes: *The Early History of Copper Fungicides*, by George Fiske Johnson; and *Pehr Kalm's Description of Maize, How It Is Planted and Cultivated in North America, Together with the Many Uses of This Crop Plant*, translated by Esther Louise Larsen.

The March number of *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains the following articles and papers: *Heinrich von Rohr and the Lutheran Immigration to New York and Wisconsin*, by Philip von Rohr Sauer; *Polish Pioneers of Kewaunee County*, by Lee Weilep Metzner; *Experiences of a Frontier Physician*, by F. G. Johnson; *Theresa, the Last Home of Solomon Juneau*, by W. A. Titus; and *Reminiscences of My Sailor Days*, by L. W. Burch. The *Documents* include *New Glarus in 1850 — Report of Rev. Wilhelm Streissguth* and a continuation of *Five Years in America*, a journal by Father Anthony Maria Gachet.

The April issue of *The American Historical Review* contains an account of the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Washington, D. C., on December 27, 28, and 29, 1934. There are two papers: *The Writing of American History in America, from 1884 to 1934*, by Theodore Clarke Smith; and *Castle-Guard*, by Sidney Painter. *A Plea for Puritanism*, by Clifford K. Shipton, and *The Indentured Servant and Land Speculation in Seventeenth Century Maryland*, by Abbot Emerson Smith, are two shorter articles. Under *Documents* there appear *The Armaments of the Great Lakes, 1844*, contributed by Paul Knaplund, and *John C. Calhoun and the Unification of Germany*, contributed by Merle E. Curti.

The Stamp Act in the Floridas, 1765-1766, by Wilfred B. Kerr; *Some Reflections on the Career of General James Wilkinson*, by Thomas R. Hay; *Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Fire Eaters of 1856*, by Clement Eaton; *The Manual Labor Experiment in the Land-Grant College*, by Earle D. Ross; and *John Peters' Diary of 1838-41*, edited by Margaret L. Brown, are the papers and articles in the March number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The June issue contains the following papers and articles: *A Voice Crying?*, by Lester B. Shippee; *Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi After the Willing Raid*, by Kathryn T. Abbey; *Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype*, by Richard L. Power; *Sources of Southern Migration into the Old Northwest*, by John D. Barnhart; and *La Chapelle's Remarkable Retreat Through the Mississippi Valley, 1760-61*, translated and edited by Louise P. Kellogg.

IOWANA

Looking Back One Hundred Years in Henry County, by Charles R. Jackman, appeared in the *Mt. Pleasant News* for September 25, 1934.

New Cedar Rapids Sewage Treatment Plant, Largest in Iowa, Nears Completion, by William Green, is one of the articles in *The Iowa Engineer* for May.

A History of Medicine in Jefferson County, Iowa, by James Frederic Clarke, is continued in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for March, April, and May.

The Iowa Synod of the Presbyterian Church has recently published in pamphlet form an *Anniversary History of the Synod of Iowa 1860-1932*, by J. S. Pollock. This address was read at the seventy-third annual session at Washington, Iowa, on October 12, 1932.

Pioneer Lawmakers Association, an address by David C. Mott; a continuation of William Salter's "*My Ministry in Iowa, 1843-46*", edited by Philip D. Jordan; and *The Skunk River War (or Tally War)*, by Cassius C. Stiles, are the three articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for April.

The Iowa history lesson series prepared for a syndicate of Iowa newspapers by John Ely Briggs includes for March and April the following topics: the First Iowa Infantry; Shiloh; Vicksburg; Sherman's march; slavery; liquor control; money problems in Iowa; agricultural problems; monopoly; and taxation.

Dirk P. De Young, formerly a resident of Iowa, has compiled and published a volume of family records entitled *De Jongh and Allied Families*. Under the name De Jong, De Jongh, or De Jonghe this family was prominent in Holland and Belgium long before any of its members came to America. Later representatives of this family group came to Pella and Orange City, Iowa.

The *Des Moines Register*, the *Clear Lake Reporter*, and the *Mo-ville Mail* are continuing the Iowa history lesson series, prepared by

Hubert L. Moeller. The subjects for March and April have included the following: the Icarians; Old O'Brien; the first telegraph in Iowa; the "Little Brown Church"; Indian defense during the Civil War; Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer; difficulties of settlers in Northwest Iowa; two Iowa naval boats; and Camp Dodge.

Iowa—Key Dairy State, by Albert Mighell; *Auctions are Increasing*, by E. L. Cady; *Piled-Up Taxes*, by R. C. Bentley; *Insurance Companies Get More Land*, by W. G. Murray; *Hog Buying Practices are Improved*, by I. W. Arthur; *Cost of Production and the Drift of Prices*, by John A. Hopkins; and *Hogs Move Northwest*, by I. W. Arthur, are articles in the April issue of the *Iowa Farm Economist*, published by the Iowa Agricultural Extension Service, at Ames.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Bailey, Alfred M.,

Kok-ar-ow (Bird Lore, January, 1935).

Becker, Carl Lotus,

Everyman His Own Historian. New York: F. S. Crofts. 1935.

Beer, Thomas,

Conservation Corps (The Saturday Evening Post, March 2, 1935).

See Page 299 (The Saturday Evening Post, April 27, 1935).

Written on Friday (Harper's Magazine, March, 1935).

Bentley, Ronald C.,

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The origin and work of the mound builders, by Ray E. Colton, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, January 28, 1935.

G. W. Rhine of Creston is 103 years old, in the *Creston News Advertiser*, January 29, 1935.

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Pre-historic inhabitants of Jackson County, by Ray E. Colton, in the *Jackson (Maquoketa) Sentinel*, February 1, 1935.

Pioneer trails in Appanoose County, by J. C. Harvey, in the *Centerville Iowegian & Citizen*, February 2, 1935.

The story of Lettie Dodge Montgomery, by J. R. Perkins, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, February 3, 1935.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The centennial of the birth of Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) is being observed this year at Hannibal, Missouri, where he was born on November 30, 1835. On March 6th the Hannibal *Courier-Post* published a Mark Twain centennial edition.

On April 30, 1935, the Missouri Historical Society gave a dinner in commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase and the Ste. Genevieve bi-centennial. The speaker was the Reverend Charles Louis van Tourenhout, of Ste. Genevieve, who spoke on "Louisiana and Ste. Genevieve".

The Minnesota Historical Society has recently issued a *Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, compiled by Grace Lee Nute and Gertrude W. Ackermann. An index adds much to the value of this useful compilation.

The Journal of Southern History, published quarterly by the Southern Historical Association at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, is a new historical magazine. The first issue is dated February, 1935. Wendell H. Stephenson of the Louisiana State University is the managing editor and Edwin A. Davis, also of the State University, is editorial associate.

Preparations are being made for the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787. Ceremonies at New York City on July 13, 1937, will mark the adoption of the Ordinance which created the Northwest Territory, and a Conestoga wagon will cover the route taken by Manassah Cutler and his associates on their trip to Marietta, Ohio, from December, 1787, to April, 1788.

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri was held at Columbia on May 9, 1935. The annual dinner was held at Hannibal, Missouri, in commemoration of the hundredth anni-

versary of the birth of Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain). Speakers at the dinner were George A. Mahan of Hannibal, Dr. Isidor Loeb, of St. Louis, the Reverend Charles L. van Tourenhout, of Ste. Genevieve, and Dr. Otto Hiller, of St. Louis.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at Springfield on May 9, 1935. The program included the following addresses: "The Epic Historical Significance of President Lincoln", by W. E. Baringer; "George Rogers Clark and Historians", by Temple Bodley; "Culture in Illinois in Lincoln's Day", by Mrs. Florence W. Taylor; and "The Genesis of a Railroad", by Ernest Elmo Calkins. Herbert Georg presented moving pictures of significant events in Springfield and central Illinois during the last twenty years. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago is president of the Society.

The annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held at Columbus, Ohio, on April 23, 1935. This was the semi-centennial program. A memorial to Charles Burleigh Galbreath was unveiled and Mr. John H. James presented to the Society a crayon portrait of Mr. Galbreath, the work of Mrs. James. In addition to a series of toasts to the Society, the dinner program included an address by Dr. R. D. Connor on "Shall the Constitution Be Preserved?" This was an account of the National Archives Building at Washington. Governor Martin L. Davey spoke briefly on "The Society and the State".

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twenty-eighth annual meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 25, 26, and 27, 1935. The program included the following papers and addresses: "The Andover Band — An Outpost of Congregationalism", by Philip D. Jordan; "The Turnover of Farm Population", by James C. Malin; "The West and National Agriculture in the Ante-Bellum Period", by H. A. Kellar; "The Significance of the Wheat (and Related) Trade in the Mississippi Valley, 1846-1862", by T. P. Martin; and "The Valley as a Cause of the Seven Years' War", by Theodore C. Pease. The presidential address, by Lester B. Shippee, was entitled "A Voice Crying?" The officers elected were: President, Louis Pelzer, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa;

Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska. The new members of the Executive Committee are E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; Walter Pritchard, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Christopher B. Coleman, Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, Indiana. Austin, Texas, was selected as the site for the meeting in 1936.

IOWA

The senior class of the Tipton High School gave a broadcast over Station WSUI on May 10, 1935, on the topic "History of the Tipton Schools".

The Howard County Historical Society held a meeting at the Cresco Public Library on May 13, 1935. Miss Abbie Converse was the speaker, on the subject "Reminiscences of a Near Pioneer".

According to an announcement made by President J. S. Nollen of Grinnell College plans are being made for a centennial history of Grinnell College to be ready for the one hundredth anniversary in 1946.

The Pottawattamie County Historical Society held a meeting at Council Bluffs on May 5, 1935. A log cabin in Lincoln Park was dedicated as a memorial to the pioneers. W. R. Orchard and Charles Putnam were the principal speakers. O. J. Pruitt is the curator of the Society.

The Marshall County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Marshalltown on April 9, 1935. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Albert L. Beane; vice president, Joe Petrone; secretary, Susie Sower; treasurer, Mrs. Minnie J. Pendleton; and curator, Mrs. E. M. Singleton.

The Jasper County Historical Society held a dinner and program at Newton on April 17, 1935. John E. Cross, president of the local society, presided. George Young Bear, from the Sauk and Fox reservation at Tama, gave a talk on "The Early Indian History of Jasper County". The Newton Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring the local historical society.

Zion Lutheran Church of Muscatine celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on April 28, 1935. In connection with the semi-centennial, a souvenir pamphlet was issued containing a history of the church, compiled by the pastor, the Reverend John Haefner, under the title, *Memento of the Golden Anniversary of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, 1885-1935*.

Mrs. Sarah Paine Hoffman, State historian of the Iowa D. A. R., gave a radio broadcast over WSUI, on May 4, 1935, on the history of Iowa City. This was the ninety-sixth anniversary of the selection of the site of Iowa City. Another feature of this anniversary celebration was the dedication of a bronze tablet marking the stone which originally located the site of the proposed capital.

Mr. Ellison Orr and two assistants have been excavating Indian mounds south of Bellevue. A number of skeletons, bundle burials, and some ceremonial spear heads have been found in these mounds. Several years ago Mr. Orr donated to the State Historical Society of Iowa a valuable collection of archaeological specimens which he had found in the valley of the Upper Iowa River.

The Madison County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Winterset on March 5, 1935. The program included a paper by D. B. Cook on "Incidents of the Underground Railroad Through Central Iowa"; a paper by Mrs. A. R. Tate on "The Old Camp Ground"; and an illustrated lecture on "Iowa Historic and Beautiful", by J. A. Swisher of the State Historical Society of Iowa. At the business meeting Dr. Herman Mueller was elected president; Judge W. S. Cooper, vice president; E. R. Zeller, secretary; and Mrs. Hartsook, treasurer.

The seventh annual meeting of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society was held at Sinsinawa, Wisconsin, on May 22, 1935. The meeting was in honor of Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, pioneer priest of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa, in whose honor a memorial room has been established in the St. Clara's Academy maintained at Sinsinawa by the Dominican Sisters. Among the speakers were Signor Castigliano, Italian consul, who spoke on the contributions of Italians to Middle West history; Father M. M. Hoffman,

who spoke on "Iowa's Debt to Mazzuchelli"; Joseph Lacke, whose subject was "Wisconsin and Mazzuchelli"; and George Phelan, who told of "Illinois and Mazzuchelli".

The Iowa Historical Association and the Iowa Political Science Association held a joint meeting at Iowa City on May 10 and 11, 1935. Professor H. G. Plum of the State University was chosen President of the Historical Association for the ensuing year, Professor R. R. Fahrney, of the Iowa State Teachers College, recorder, and Professor Clara M. Daley, of the State University, and F. J. Moats, of Simpson College, were chosen as members of the executive committee. Professor F. J. Moats was elected president of the Political Science Association, and Miss Catharine Renich, of Simpson College, was made secretary-treasurer. Jacob A. Swisher, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and Mrs. George Harnagle, of Des Moines, were chosen as members of the executive committee.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. J. A. Swisher, Research Associate of the State Historical Society, gave an illustrated lecture on "Iowa Historic and Beautiful" at the meeting of the Madison County Historical Society on March 5, 1935. On April 11th, he gave this lecture before the Indianola High School in the afternoon and for the students and faculty of Simpson College in the evening.

On March 11, 1935, Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate in the State Historical Society of Iowa, spoke to Wapsipinicon Lodge No. 381, A. F. & A. M., at West Branch on the subject, "Robert Lucas: First Governor of the Territory of Iowa". On April 17, 1935, Dr. Petersen spoke before a joint meeting of the Durant Women's Club and the Durant Public School on the subject, "Iowa in 1835".

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Miss Marvel Dell Braley, Britt, Iowa; Mr. George F. Heins, Monona, Iowa; Mr. John S. Borresen, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. David Grant, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Elmer H. Hass, Forest City, Iowa; Mrs. Paul D. Castle, Moville, Iowa; and Mrs. Maud Branson Stratton, West Branch, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Claude Barth of Greene has a valuable collection of Indian weapons and implements, as well as other museum materials.

Two poems by Iowa authors — *Airships*, by Mrs. G. Perle Schmidt, and *Fallen Oak*, by Jay G. Sigmund — have been set to music by Louise Crawford of Cedar Rapids and were sung by Ruth Ebling Massey at a concert at Cedar Rapids on February 28, 1935.

Webster Ballinger, a Representative from Lee County in the Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth General Assemblies, died at Denver, Colorado, in March, 1935, at the age of ninety-four. After removing to Colorado Mr. Ballinger served in the State Senate there for several terms.

Under a bill sponsored by Secretary Harold L. Ickes to be proposed to Congress several areas and historic sites in Iowa could be taken over by the National Park Service. Among those mentioned are: one or more of the mound groups in northeast Iowa; the grave of Julien Dubuque; and the Floyd monument. Under this plan of coöperation by Federal and State authorities, Federal money could be used to restore and maintain such places.

CONTRIBUTORS

RUTH AUGUSTA GALLAHER, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, for January, 1916, p. 156, October, 1931, p. 604, October, 1933, p. 616, and January, 1934, p. 96.)

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, January, 1930, p. 173, January, 1933, p. 160, and October, 1934, p. 379.)

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE 1934 CORN-HOG PROGRAM IN IOWA

A STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

One of the major policies of the "New Deal" has been the restoration of the financial stability of agriculture; and, in Iowa, agriculture depends largely upon corn and hogs. To understand the difficulties faced by the corn and hog producers and the various plans proposed for their relief, one must consider the economic and political changes which have occurred in the past thirty-five years.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Corn and hogs have been from the beginning two of the most important farm products of the Middle West and in their production Iowa early took a leading part, a position which has been maintained to the present day. The relation between the two is obvious: the Iowa farmer raises corn, feeds it to hogs, and sells the hogs. To a large extent, the financial well-being of the Iowa farmers has, therefore, depended on the price of pork. The market for pork has, however, been affected by political and economic conditions and trends which were often beyond any control by the farmers themselves.

One of the most important factors in the financial well-being of agriculture is the amount of the surplus produced and the market for it in other countries. In the years just before 1900, the United States was exporting a large proportion of the pork produced, sending abroad as high as 1,600,000,000 pounds annually.¹ About the end of the nine-

¹ *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1910, p. 677.

teenth century came the industrial development of the cities and the end of free public land. Municipal populations increased, both by a movement from farm to city and by immigration. With this industrialization, food prices rose and the domestic market absorbed a large amount of the pork which had formerly been exported, and for the most part at higher prices.² Farmers were encouraged to increase the amount of pork produced and both the State and National governments emphasized experiments and education intended to increase production.

Then, in 1914, a shot from a peasant's gun changed the situation. The World War began and millions of European men were taken from their fields to serve in the armies. The European market outbid the domestic market of the industrial centers of the United States and the price of pork rose. After the United States entered the war, food production was a patriotic duty as well as a profitable occupation. President Wilson appealed to the American farmer to increase his production of wheat and pork, and farmers were, in some cases, granted special exemption from the draft. "Food will win the war" was one of the popular slogans. Sixty million acres of pasture and sub-marginal lands were brought under cultivation and the American farmer invested heavily in machinery and fertilizers. Exports of pork products soared to 2,700,000,000 pounds for the year July 1, 1918, to July 1, 1919 — a billion pounds more than it had been the preceding year and two billion pounds more than it had been in 1909.³

For five years after the signing of the Armistice, the European market continued to take the larger part of America's 1,700,000,000 pounds of pork exports. But the European farmers were steadily restoring their lands to

² *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1910, p. 677, 1920, p. 826.

³ *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1934, p. 663.

cultivation, increasing their grain production, and building up their herds of livestock. For another five years (1924-1929), the American export of pork hovered around a billion pounds annually, but after 1929 the foreign market declined rapidly. By 1932 the sale of American pork abroad was negligible in proportion to the total production, amounting to only 686,462,000 pounds.⁴ Europeans had become largely self-sufficient in pork production and were supplanting American exporters in other countries.

The drop in pork exports after the war was, of course, accompanied by a sharp drop in pork prices. Industry, too, suffered, but foreign loans, installment buying, and expansion of domestic credit opened new markets for industrial products. These markets were maintained until about 1929, but domestic consumption of agricultural products could not use the huge surplus. Farm machinery had replaced crop-consuming work animals and increased production.⁵ At the same time the agricultural extension services continued to promote additional crop production without considering the ultimate economic effects of this program.⁶ Farm income did not hold its own with industrial prices. In 1921, for example, the price level of commodities in the United States declined 37 per cent over those in 1920, while farm income dropped 50 per cent, and prices in the export crop area fell 85 per cent.⁷ Farmers, who had received 18.5 per cent of the national income in 1919, received only 9.3 per cent in 1928, and between 7 and 8 per cent in 1931 and 1932. The cash returns of the American farmers declined 65.9 per cent between February,

⁴ *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1934, p. 663.

⁵ *The Corn-Hog Problem* (Agricultural Adjustment Administration, C. H. — 1), p. 3. See also report of President's Commission on *Recent Social Trends*, p. 499, and the chapter on Consumption Trends.

⁶ Gee's *American Farm Policy*, p. 15.

⁷ Report of President's Commission on *Recent Social Trends*, 1933, p. 499.

1929, and February, 1933, while the dividend payments on stocks dropped only 39.6 per cent and the incomes of urban consumers fell only 45.7 per cent.⁸

This excessive decline in agricultural prices and farm income was largely due to lack of production control in agriculture. Between 1929 and 1933, industry in the United States made a cut of 48.7 per cent in output; but agriculture reduced its production only 4.6 per cent. Processors lowered their bids for hogs, cattle, and wheat, but slowed down production and held large quantities in warehouses to hold up the prices they received. While the farmer labored as long and as hard as he ever had, his purchasing power fell as low as 48 per cent of his pre-war ability to buy. At the same time meat packers and manufacturers worked only half as many men and maintained their incomes at a much higher level. The farmer was accustomed to increase his income by increasing production, and he was unable to cope with the fact that within reasonable limits, an addition of 10 per cent to the hog supply was followed by a drop of 20 per cent in the price of live hogs.⁹

Iowa is the largest producer of corn and hogs in the United States, raising on the average about one-sixth of the corn and nearly one-fourth of the hogs in the country. Because of this and the predominance of agriculture in general, the reduction of farm income was especially serious in Iowa and neither the farmer nor the government was prepared to meet it. The whole philosophy of

⁸ Ezekiel and Bean's *Economic Bases for the Agricultural Adjustment Act*, p. 6.

⁹ *The Corn-Hog Problem*, p. 3; Shepherd's *Who Pays for the Hog Reduction Program?* (Prospects for Agricultural Recovery, Pt. VIII, Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College, No. 317, July, 1934); Haas and Ezekiel's *Factors Affecting the Price of Hogs* (United States Department of Agriculture Department Bulletin, No. 1440, 1930); manuscripts in the files of the Economics Unit, Corn and Hogs Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

the Iowa farmer down to 1932 had been greater and greater production. Scientific training, improved farm machinery, and larger amounts of working capital had been welcomed to the end that two bushels of corn might grow where one had grown before and two hogs go to market where one had gone before.

To this end the Iowa farmer had consistently increased the number of acres planted to corn, from 9,473,000 in 1910, to 10,100,000 in 1915, 10,300,000 in 1920, 11,130,000 in 1925, and 11,732,000 in 1932. The average acreage of corn during the five years preceding the World War was less than ten million acres. In 1917, the Iowa farmers expanded their corn planting by a million acres, but returned for the next two years to the lower level. The six years from 1920 to 1925 inclusive brought a gradual increase up to 11 million acres and the area planted to corn remained approximately the same thereafter.

As the amount of corn increased and the market for pork declined, the price of corn fell and many farmers attempted to increase their depleted income by increasing their production. Between 1925 and 1930, Iowa farmers enlarged their investments in implements and machinery from \$227,000,000 to \$270,000,000. During the same period the value of land and buildings combined on Iowa farms declined from \$4,954,000,000 to \$4,224,000,000. The amount of fertilizers used for the decade 1921-1931 increased from 3000 short tons in 1921 to 10,000 in 1928, and to 21,000 tons in 1929, and 25,000 tons in 1930.¹⁰

By 1932 nearly 12,000,000 acres of Iowa land were planted to corn and the increased productivity of the land, coupled with the highly favorable natural conditions of that year, produced a crop of 509,507,000 bushels, the largest corn crop in the history of Iowa. But industry

¹⁰ *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1933, p. 762; *United States Census*, 1930, *Agriculture*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 884.

and favorable weather failed to counteract the downward trend of farm incomes. The bumper crop of 1932 had less value per bushel than any other crop on record and the total valuation, estimated at \$60,000,000, was the smallest since 1897. The average value of corn on the Iowa farms on December 1, 1932, was about 12 cents per bushel, just one-third of the figure for the year 1931.¹¹

Hog production in Iowa followed closely that of corn. The number of hogs on Iowa farms on January 1, 1923, reached 11,000,000 and this figure was again reported in 1928, but the 1932 crop of hogs topped both these years by more than 200,000 head. The total value of hogs, however, declined from a six-year average of nearly \$280,000,000 in 1924-1929 to \$265,000,000 in 1930, \$184,472,000 in 1931, and \$94,000,000 in 1932.¹²

Proposals for Price Equalization.—When cattle, hog, and wheat prices dropped by one-half in the marketing year of 1920-1921,¹³ farmers entered the political arena with a cry for help. The suggestions for agricultural relief during these years proposed crude systems of fixing prices of farm products by law. These plans were, of course, inspired by the government's price-fixing activities during the World War. They were emergency measures, aimed at removing the emergency conditions of 1921 and 1922, but they failed of enactment.

To make ends meet the farmers expanded production still more and adjusted living expenditures, but they remained dissatisfied, and it was obvious to students and

¹¹ *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1932, p. 221; *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1934, pp. 112, 113.

¹² *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1930, p. 861, 1931, p. 860, 1932, p. 785, 1933, p. 606, 1934, p. 601.

¹³ *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1931, pp. 601, 833, 851, Tables 23, 362, 333.

politicians in the Middle West that the prices of goods farmers bought were proportionately higher than the prices of agricultural commodities. This condition brought forth a series of more conservative measures, all primarily designed to raise the prices of farm products by making the tariff effective on products in which farmers produced an excess above domestic demand. These proposals included bills varying as widely as the McNary-Haugen equalization fee bill, the export debenture plan, the domestic allotment plan, and the Farm Board bill for open market operations. All except the last failed of enactment, and it was soon admitted by the Federal Farm Board that surplus production rather than market disparity was the fundamental problem in American agriculture.¹⁴

With the inauguration of President F. D. Roosevelt in March, 1933, Congress immediately began consideration of farm relief proposals, but it was not until May 12, 1933, that Congress finally enacted into law the major portion of the administration proposals supported generally by farmers and farm leaders under the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

The Act was to be carried out, in part, by agencies of the Federal Department of Agriculture already established — the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Agricultural Extension Service — and in part by a new administrative unit known as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration — soon known as the AAA.¹⁵ As Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act President F. D. Roosevelt named George N. Peek. (Later Chester C. Davis became Administrator of the AAA.)

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration was divided into four Divisions — Production; Finance; Infor-

¹⁴ Reports of the Federal Farm Board.

¹⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLVIII, Ch. 25, pp. 31-54.

mation and Publicity; and Processing and Marketing. In the Production Division were six sections, one being the Corn and Hogs Section.

FORMULATION OF THE CORN-HOG
ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM

The declared purpose of the Agricultural Adjustment Act was to raise the prices of farm products to a fair exchange value and the act defined fair exchange value (except for tobacco) as the price which would give farm products the same purchasing power they possessed during the pre-war period of 1909-1914.¹⁶ This increase in prices was to be brought about, for the most part, by control of production in seven basic farm crops.

The act, however, also authorized the use of commodity loans for products stored on farms and empowered the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into marketing agreements with processors, associations of producers, and others handling agricultural products in interstate commerce and to license such persons or firms. The Federal Department of Agriculture was permitted to fix prices of farm products and raise the prices by a certain percentage, and the Secretary of Agriculture could levy processing taxes and pay the money so received directly to the producer as a supplement to the market price. The government was also authorized to buy products in the open market in order to reduce the surplus. Coöperative associations of producers might be organized to create a monopoly price in favor of the farmers.

The price adjustment program for corn and hogs was made the joint responsibility of two sections in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration — the Corn and Hogs Section and the Meat Processing and Marketing Section.

¹⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 31, 32.

Advisers and experts from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics were detailed to these sections to formulate a program and analyze proposals. The AAA called advisers from many walks of life outside the immediate government agencies — extension agents from the Middle West; professors of marketing, agricultural economics, and farm management; and farmers who were known to be familiar with the problems of corn and hog prices and production.

Many plans for raising corn and hog prices had already been formulated within the Department of Agriculture and proposals were flowing in from outside sources, but the administration had no desire to take the responsibility for carrying out a program to which the great majority of producers were not committed. On the other hand, the farmers, slow at united action, awaited the administration's prompting. Finally, at a direct suggestion from Secretary Henry A. Wallace, the Iowa Federation of Farm Organizations called a corn and hog producers' meeting for June 16, 1933, at Des Moines, Iowa. Representatives of non-organization farmers as well as of all statewide farmers' organizations attended the meeting. They elected a State Corn-Hog Committee¹⁷ and recommended payment of a bonus on light hogs to reduce the amount of pork marketed. The meeting also expressed a desire for a 1934 corn acreage reduction program with part of the payments in 1933.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration suggested that similar committees be selected at meetings in each of the other nine Corn Belt States — Kansas, Nebraska, South

¹⁷ The members of this Iowa Corn-Hog Committee were: Roswell Garst of Coon Rapids, Chairman, Oscar Heline of Marcus, R. M. Evans of Laurens, Milford Beeghly of Pierson, Willard Edwards of Humboldt, William McArthur of Mason City, Earl Watts of Shenandoah, Paul Stewart of Maynard, Ralph Moyer of Fairfield, Allan Kline of Vinton, Lloyd Eveland of Boone, Julius Lensch of Harlan, Vern Brady of Sanborn, C. E. Hearst of Cedar Falls, George Godfrey of Algona, Burt Neal of Mt. Vernon, Roy F. O'Donnell of Colo, Ralph Smith of Newton, and John Chalmers of Madrid. They served as delegates from Iowa to the National meeting at Des Moines.

Dakota, Minnesota, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Missouri — and it suggested the selection of representatives for a national meeting, the number from each State to be in proportion to the importance of the State in corn and hog marketings. During the next two weeks the nine statewide meetings were held and committees were elected.

The national meeting convened at Des Moines on July 18th with AAA leaders present to explain the problems involved in corn and hog price adjustments. In response to a request of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for a permanent working body representative of producers, each State delegation nominated representatives to such a committee according to an allotment provided by AAA officials, making a total of twenty-one chosen by the State delegations. Four additional members were selected by the chief of the Corn and Hogs Section, three of them being the presidents of the major farmers' organizations. This body, unanimously approved by the delegates at the meeting, constituted the National Corn-Hog Producers' Committee of Twenty-Five.¹⁸

This National Corn-Hog Producers' Committee convened at Chicago on July 20th to confer with the administration officials, who were responsible for the formulation of an administrable program, and with representatives of the Chicago meat processors. The AAA officials outlined in detail the problems involved in adjusting corn and hog prices but did not submit a program for raising prices: that step was left to the producers' representatives, who consistently upheld a program of production reduction, financed by processing taxes.¹⁹

¹⁸ Fitzgerald's *Corn and Hogs Under the Agricultural Adjustment Act* (Brookings Institution, 1934), p. 12; *Agricultural Adjustment* (Published by AAA as G-8), pp. 103, 104.

¹⁹ The processor representatives objected to the producers' emphasis upon adjusting corn and hog production. They declared that a processing tax to

After conferring with the processors, the Corn-Hog Producers' Committee concluded that an emergency program for reducing hog supplies moving to market during the ensuing months was the most immediate necessity. The Committee and the AAA officials then drafted a program to pay a premium price at livestock markets for sows to farrow and for pigs farrowed in the spring of 1933 and under 100 pounds in weight. A subcommittee was selected to present the proposals to the AAA officials at Washington.

This program prompted George N. Peek, Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, to call representatives of farm organizations, national and coöperative associations, organizations representing terminal marketing agencies, trade associations, organizations representing wholesale and retail meat dealers, and other interested parties into conference on August 10th. These representatives voted a resolution pledging support of any hog adjustment program adopted and put into effect by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

The program prepared by the National Corn-Hog Producers' Committee was revised and refined in AAA circles during the next few weeks and on August 18, 1933, the Secretary of Agriculture issued a proclamation authorizing the purchase of young pigs and sows bred to farrow and ordered that a processing tax be imposed to finance such purchases. On August 23rd the first of such government

finance a direct production adjustment program would tend to depress hog prices. The economics of their business demonstrated that a decrease in hog marketings would adversely affect their business incomes, which depended largely upon the quantity of pork they handled. They expressed the great need for investigating all possibilities of expanding both domestic and foreign outlets for market surpluses. They favored the development of a marketing agreement between the meat processing industry and the Secretary of Agriculture and proposed launching an educational campaign to encourage domestic consumption of fresh pork.—*Agricultural Adjustment*, p. 105.

purchases were made at six livestock markets in the Middle West.

The next step in price adjustment was crop reduction for 1934. On September 7, 1933, the Secretary of Agriculture issued a statement in which he said: "The emergency program must now be followed promptly with a definite reduction in corn acreage and production in 1934 and a material decrease in the number of sows farrowing in the spring of 1934."²⁰ He outlined the probable effects of the emergency hog-buying campaign and the apparent impossibility of obtaining larger foreign and domestic markets for pork products.

The National Corn-Hog Producers' Committee convened for a three-day session at Chicago at the end of which it submitted recommendations to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for price-fixing through the use of marketing agreements and licenses, and for production reduction financed by a processing tax.²¹ The Adjustment Administration took the recommendations under advise-

²⁰ *Agricultural Adjustment Administration Press Release*, No. 556-34, September 7, 1933.

²¹ The committee submitted the following recommendations: (1) that the administration fix hog prices at fair exchange value, including the processing tax, on a schedule discriminating against heavy hogs, by means of agreements between the Secretary of Agriculture and packers and licenses imposed upon those packers who refused agreements with the Secretary; (2) that subsequent surplus pork stocks be converted into sausage for distribution through relief agencies, for export, and for sale to the public at a fixed nominal price; (3) that hog producers who signed contracts to reduce their 1934 corn acreage by not less than 20 per cent be paid a benefit of \$1 per hundredweight on all hogs weighing less than 220 pounds which they marketed between November 1, 1933, and June 1, 1934, and a corn benefit of 30 cents per bushel of average production on the number of acres in the 1934 corn allotment; (4) that imports of commodities competing in the market with corn be reduced; (5) that the program be financed with a \$2 per hundred-weight processing tax on all live hogs, as large a processing tax on corn as the market would bear, and the appropriation granted for these purposes by the Agricultural Adjustment Act.—*Agricultural Adjustment Administration Press Release*, No. 696-34, September 25, 1933.

ment to determine their economic effectiveness and their administrative possibilities, requesting advice from agricultural economists, extension agents, statisticians, packers, commission men, and farmers themselves.

With the recommendations of the National Corn-Hog Producers' Committee as a nucleus, the Corn and Hogs Section officials approached the work of drafting a program for adjusting corn and hog production to economic demand. By October 1st a tentative program had emerged from the many long hours of strenuous study, analysis, and discussion. For two weeks afterwards the officials listened to steadily increasing numbers of interested parties, continuously reorganized their own program, and included in it safeguards against failure.²²

The main features of the corn-hog program were officially announced on October 17, 1933,²³ and on December 5th Secretary of Agriculture Wallace released the corn-hog contract forms for publication. The plan involved the use of individual contracts between the Secretary of Agriculture and the farmers, with no coercion upon farmers to enter the contract. An economic inducement was, however, provided. If Iowa farmers coöperated 100 per cent, they

²² The administration was not convinced that price fixing of any kind could be made effective. Higher prices for corn and hogs would be a direct stimulus to production. The international policy of the administration would not permit dumping these surpluses on foreign markets. Eventually some plan of allotting rights to producers to sell only a certain amount of corn and hogs in the domestic market would have to be utilized, but the administration strenuously objected to any proposal that would, under normal conditions, create an economic situation necessitating a law to regiment producers. In the face of strong organized demands by farmers and politicians for price-fixing, the administration had managed to avoid it directly except insofar as the corn-loan program established a minimum corn price. The Economics Unit of the Corn and Hogs Section was organized early in the period of drafting a program primarily to analyze the numerous proposals for adjusting prices from the economic point of view. Many were defeated in their entirety in its offices.

²³ *Agricultural Adjustment Administration Press Release*, Nos. 893-34 and 894-34, October 17, 1933.

were to receive approximately \$75,000,000 in the form of rental and benefit payments.²⁴ The contract required that each farmer reduce his corn acreage for 1934 by at least 20 per cent of his average corn acreage of the preceding three years (later reduced to two). It was also required that he reduce the number of litters of pigs farrowed and the number of hogs he sent to market by at least 25 per cent of the average number during the preceding two years.

Payments were to be made on both corn and hogs. In the case of corn, the government offered to rent from 20 to 30 per cent of the corn acreage on the signer's farm. The rental per acre was to be determined upon the basis of 30 cents per bushel for the average yield per acre during the preceding three years (later changed to appraisal by local committeemen on the basis of yields for ten years). Two-thirds of this rental was to be paid to the farmer as soon as possible after the contract was negotiated with the producer; the remaining third was to be payable after August 1, 1934, upon evidence of fulfillment of the contract.

The payments on hogs were to be \$5 per head upon 75 per cent of the average number of hogs sold by the farmer during the preceding two years (whether on the present farm or on another farm), providing that not more than 75 per cent of the average was raised in 1934. The producer was also required to agree not to increase the number of hogs bought and fed for market above the average he bought and fed during the two-year period used as a base for hog allotments. The Federal government was to pay \$2 of the total price per head upon acceptance of the contract, \$1 on or about September 1, 1934, and \$2 on or about February 1, 1935. The last two payments were to be conditional upon evidence of the producer's compliance with the terms of the contract.

²⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, October 17, 1933.

The benefit payments were to be financed by a processing tax levied by the Secretary of Agriculture on both corn and hogs. The amount of tax was left to his discretion and the tax was collected directly from the processor.²⁵ This planned reduction of corn and hogs came to be known as the "Corn-Hog Program", as distinct from such emergency activities as the purchase of hogs in 1933 and the corn loans.

Within a week after the first general announcement of the production adjustment program on October 17th, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration realized that benefit payments under the program would not reach the Corn Belt soon enough to forestall suffering and agitation during the early part of the winter of 1933-1934. Under the stimulus of political and farm strike agitation the administration proceeded to draft a corn-loan program to place Federal money in the hands of corn and hog producers as soon as possible. These corn loans, amounting to not more than forty-five cents per bushel, were to be made only to farmers who agreed to sign corn-hog reduction contracts.

THE EDUCATIONAL AND SIGN-UP CAMPAIGNS

The first announcement of the corn-hog production adjustment program included the information that the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture would

²⁵ The announcement of the program bore the provision that 50 cents per hundredweight of live animal would be collected from packers beginning November 5, 1933, the beginning of the first hog marketing year under the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The tax would subsequently be increased at intervals until it amounted to \$2 per hundredweight by February 1, 1934. It would continue at that rate through the marketing years of 1933-34 and 1934-35. The rate of the corn processing tax was not proclaimed at the time. Protection of the competitive position of both corn and hogs in the domestic market by means of compensating taxes on imports of corn, hogs, and competing products and on domestic supplies of pork, corn products, and competing products was left to the discretion of the Adjustment officials.

conduct the educational work and supervise the sign-up campaign. Its work in this connection was essentially the same type as that performed throughout its history.²⁶ Its functions in the corn-hog program fell into three fairly distinct categories: (1) education of farmers in general on the economics of production adjustment; (2) explanation to farmers of the corn-hog contracts and administrative rulings; and (3) organization and training of a large temporary field service of farmers to conduct the sign-up campaign. The State and county offices carrying on agricultural extension work in Iowa assumed the responsibility for the educational work as soon as informative materials were available.²⁷ In the course of the year, fifty-three assistant county agents were placed in Iowa counties, financed primarily by the AAA allotment to the Extension Service. From the beginning of the program, these county agents and assistant county agents in Iowa spent on the average three-fifths of their time upon the corn-hog program.

The first district meeting to train the county agents for

²⁶ The Extension Service was authorized by the Smith-Lever Act of 1917 and was organized with responsibility divided between county organizations of farmers and the State and Federal governments. For fifteen years its primary functions had been to educate the farmers upon the benefits of scientific research and the meager governmental programs for farm relief. The county organizations of farmers varied in different States. In the Corn Belt States farmers were organized into voluntary associations called farm bureaus. The board of directors of the county farm bureau then selected the county extension agent from a panel of eligible nominees prepared by the State Extension Director. The county farm bureaus were originally intended to be local associations of farmers organized solely to promote the work of the Extension Service in the county.

²⁷ Immediately upon receipt of the administration press release of October 17th containing the outline of the program, the State Extension office mimeographed copies of it for all county agents. Materials upon the economics of the agricultural production and prices of farm products were given wide distribution. Next the Extension Service obtained a complete mailing list of all farmers in the State through the county agents who in turn were assisted by cooperating and responsible farmers.

the corn-hog sign-up campaign was held on November 14th at Des Moines. Here the agents learned the structure of the proposed administrative agencies, their functions, and how the contracts were to be drawn up. Similar district meetings were held in other places in Iowa during the week. An outline was sent soon after to all county agents giving specific and detailed directions for planning the county corn-hog production adjustment campaign.

At this stage of the program the AAA selected a State Corn-Hog Advisory Committee for Iowa. The four members were: R. M. Evans, of Laurens, chairman; Ralph Smith, of Newton; R. K. Bliss, Extension Director at Iowa State College, Ames; and William McArthur, State Senator from Mason City.²⁸ The immediate concern of this State Committee was the administration of the corn-loan program, but the Corn and Hogs Section had determined several weeks before that a State corn-hog advisory committee should be selected to coördinate the several phases of the production adjustment program. The chief consideration in making the appointments was to get men of administrative ability and at the same time provide representation to all interested parties, in particular, the various farm organizations.

By November 23rd the county warehouse boards for the corn-loan administration had been selected and Mr. Evans, chairman of the State Corn-Hog Advisory Committee, announced plans for the educational and sign-up campaign for the production adjustment program. The first step of the State Committee, it was stated, would be to select a temporary committee of five or more farmers in each county to conduct the sign-up campaign. This committee

²⁸ The Iowa State Corn-Hog Advisory Committee was one of four in the country in which the State Extension Director was not chairman. Although it was officially called an advisory committee, salaries were paid to the committeemen on a per diem basis.

would select a committee in each township and the township committees with the aid of other volunteer workers, would help the farmers fill out the contract forms.

As soon as the State Committee began functioning, the Federal corn-hog administration appointed 23 farmers in Iowa to work under the Committee's direction. These field men were assigned to work in the districts in which they were best known as farmers. At the same time, 28 men on the Extension staff at Ames were detailed to give the greater part of their time to the corn-hog program. Several of them immediately went into the field and, by conducting educational meetings, made it possible for the State Committee field men to emphasize the sign-up and organization work. This was undoubtedly the most successful plan of dividing the work, for on the whole the Ames Extension men were more capable as platform speakers and better able to explain the intricacies of the program; while the field men — farmers favorable to the program — could more easily work with the county and township committees.

One of the first duties of the Corn-Hog Committee was the appointment of temporary county committees. When the work began, a few county agents in Iowa had already selected temporary county corn-hog committees without adequate representation. These were later supplanted by representative committees and recognized by the State Committee. In other counties the county agent had worked with the various groups to set up a temporary organization representative of all interests. The State Committee ratified the membership of such committees without question. In a large number of counties the farmers themselves had taken the initiative and organized their committees independently. If such procedure provided representation to all important groups, the county agent found it unneces-

sary to interfere and the approval of the State Committee was readily obtained. The personnel of the county corn-hog committees and that of the county warehouse boards (in charge of the corn-loan work) was frequently identical. In general, the selection of these committees indicates that farmers were eager to assume the responsibility for the solution of their economic problems.

It was expected that these committees would conduct the sign-up campaign almost immediately, but the administrative rulings on the contracts failed to appear until December 29th, and during the month of December the committees were primarily concerned with the educational campaign, explaining the economics of production adjustment, the functions of the complicated administrative structure, and the details of the contracts. Approximately 2000 educational meetings were held in Iowa during December, 1933, and it was estimated that 300,000 people were reached in the efforts of the Extension Service and the State Committee to explain the new basis of agricultural economics.

Immediately upon the arrival of the administrative rulings on the corn-hog contracts, a conference of Extension field men and the State Committee was held. On December 29th and 30th these State representatives discussed and analyzed the materials available. The Extension Service held a special conference on January 1, 1934, to discuss methods of conducting the training schools for county sign-up committees. A two-day training school was held on January 2nd and 3rd for the 23 corn-hog field men, the State Committee, and the 28 Extension men primarily concerned with the corn-hog program. During the next two days (January 4 and 5, 1934) all county agents and temporary county committee chairmen convened at Ames and the materials were explained to them in detail.

Beginning on January 10th, a corn-hog field man and an

Extension supervisor jointly conducted two-day training schools in each county in the State. About fifty farmers attended each county meeting. Usually these included the three temporary township committeemen from each township and all those officially connected with the county committee and county agent's office. At these meetings, a number of the local committeemen filled out and signed corn-hog contracts. These two-day training schools were completed by January 20th, after which each county agent and the county committeemen held training schools in each township to train at least one volunteer sign-up worker from each school district in the township.

On January 9th, 175 representatives of insurance companies and other corporations with large land-holdings in Iowa met at Ames for a training course upon the corn-hog sign-up campaign conducted by the State Committee and the Extension workers from the faculty at Iowa State College.

Thus, when the actual sign-up campaign began there were from 125 to 150 trained men in each county and about 14,000 in the State to carry to the farmers the contracts and administrative rulings, help the farmers to understand the provisions of the documents, and assist them in filling in their production figures.

The various agencies to whom had been given the work of establishing reliable acreage and production figures for the base years of the program provided valuable assistance to the farmers in the sign-up campaign.²⁹ The county

²⁹ The Crop and Livestock Estimates Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics was given the responsibility for supplying corn and hog production figures for the various counties and States for 1932 and 1933 to constitute county and State totals of production allotments. In December, 1933, through coöperation with the Civil Works Administration in Iowa, five persons were added to the personnel of the two statistical agencies at Des Moines collecting crop and livestock figures—the office of the Federal Crop and Livestock Estimates Division and the State Crop and Weather Bureau. The State office

agents sent letters to all corn and hog producers giving publicity to the fact that the agricultural statistician in Iowa for the United States Crop and Livestock Estimates Division had records concerning corn and hog production on individual farms. The leaders emphasized the fact that accuracy and care would get corn-hog money into the State much more quickly and at much less expense than would be the case if contracts were carelessly made out and a large amount of rechecking became necessary.

As soon as materials were made available in sufficient quantities to conduct the sign-up campaign, township meetings were called to provide the farmers with definite information regarding the corn-hog contract and the complete program. In most cases either the county agent or one of the temporary township or county committeemen presided at these meetings, and township committeemen and other trained workers attended, to assist the leader in answering the questions of individual farmers. The procedure for signing early payment contracts was also explained at the meeting and it was pointed out that "those signing such contracts may receive their first installment one or two months in advance of those by whom the regular form of the contract is used."

When the general educational meeting of farmers in the township was adjourned, the announcement was made that persons whose farming operations involved complications

of the Federal-State Crop Reporting Service took over the work of recording township assessors' records of corn acreages and hog farrowings. Information appearing in the newspapers that the administration would rely to a large extent upon assessors' records in the approval of individual contracts for payment brought numerous requests at the statistician's office from farmers, county agents, and temporary sign-up committees for these figures.

During the latter part of December, nine special agricultural statisticians began working throughout Iowa under the direction of the Crop and Livestock Estimates Office and 55 Civil Works Administration employees were gathering production data. In January, the statistician's office mailed data upon corn and hog producers to the county agents of the State.

in signing the corn-hog contract should remain for special explanations.³⁰

Unofficial agencies also assisted in carrying out the corn-hog program, particularly in connection with the educational and sign-up campaigns. Vocational agricultural teachers, independent farm organizations, insurance companies, community organizations, newspapers, and magazines continuously supported and explained the program. *Wallaces' Farmer* and *The Des Moines Register* contributed much to the excellent understanding of the corn-hog program possessed by Iowa farmers.

FILLING OUT THE CONTRACTS

At the close of these township meetings practically every farmer had been furnished the necessary forms for filling out the contracts. The contract and work sheets required a complete analysis of the total farm acreage classified by crops and other uses for both 1932 and 1933. Acreage and quantity figures on both years' corn crops, a five-year crop production history of the field or fields the farmer desired to set aside for rental to the government, and detailed data on hog production and disposal of hogs for each of the four farrowing seasons of 1932 and 1933 were required.³¹

³⁰ Tenants who rented their farms under the following conditions received special explanations: (1) where the producer would operate in 1934 one single farm rented from the landlord under a stock-share lease or agreement under which the landlord would receive a share of the hogs produced on the farm or part of the proceeds from them; (2) where the producer rented and operated two or more tracts of land owned by different landlords, one or more of such tracts being rented on shares; and (3) where the producer signing any contract owned or rented and operated more than one farming unit. The farmers whose contracts included hog reduction payments to their landlords were instructed to take additional work sheets and statements of supporting evidence for their landlords to fill in. If possible the landlord was to accompany the producer on the day set for signing the contracts.

³¹ Detailed data on hog production and disposal of hogs was required in the following categories: litters owned by producer when farrowed; total

The producer's statement required a detailed analysis of each sale of hogs made by him, as well as each purchase of hogs, and a list of all supporting evidence to be attached to the form. Two neighbors who were not relatives of the farmer were required to count the number of hogs on the farm and certify that to the best of their knowledge and belief the hogs were the property of the person signing the statement.

The supporting evidence asked for on hog sales included: sales receipts, weight tickets, signed statements of persons or agencies buying, selling, or consigning hogs, farm account records, and so forth. Farmers in Iowa found it less difficult to obtain this supporting evidence than did farmers in States producing a smaller number of hogs, but only a very small percentage of farmers had acceptable farm account records. Sales receipts and weight tickets on hog sales in 1933 had quite generally been preserved by the farmers, but for 1932 sales, farmers were forced to rely largely upon their memories and inadequate production figures scattered from the hog-house door to the drawer in the kitchen cabinet.

In many cases farmers were able to get signed statements of persons or agencies who had bought, sold, or consigned their hogs. In some parts of the State these statements, supplied by truckers of hogs, constituted a large part of the farmers' supporting evidence. Many of these truckers, however, had poor records or no records at all. Most of them were small operators with no particular responsibility to the farmers or the government. A number of them signed statements in blank for the farmers to fill

already sold from these litters; number already sold for slaughter; number sold as stockers, feeders, or breeders; number slaughtered for use on the farm; number to be sold; number to be retained for breeding purposes; total hogs produced for market; allotment of hog production under the contract; number of feeder and stocker hogs purchased; and number of feeder and stocker hogs on hand.

out as they pleased. Farmers who purchased pigs from other farmers also provided unsatisfactory evidence. Many dealers in feeder pigs were opposed to the program and supplied signed blanks for farmers to fill in as they pleased.

The direction sheet accompanying the contract instructed the farmer to study his copy of the contract but not to fill it in until he obtained the help of a sign-up worker during the sign-up campaign. Announcements were made through the newspapers and notices were sent to the farmers of the days on which contracts might be signed in the different districts of the county. In most cases the sign-up was conducted by stationing township committeemen and other trained workers at the several rural schoolhouses in the townships, requesting that all producers intending to participate in the corn-hog program go to these locations on the designated days to fill in and sign their contract forms.³² In practically all cases, two or more sign-up workers were present. They divided the work, each specializing upon certain types of contracts according to ownership of farms, types of leases, etc.

After the regular sign-up days were past, the permanent township and county organizations were, in most cases, selected and the permanent organization then proceeded to complete the sign-up campaign. Each township was divided

³² Landlords were required to sign the contracts only when part or all of the contracted acres were located on land rented under a crop-share lease or when the farm was rented on a stock-share lease in which part of the hogs proceeds were to go to the landlord. For regular payment contracts only a pencil copy of the contract was made up and signed, but for early payment contracts a pencil copy was prepared and signed and three copies (triplicate forms) were signed in blank. As some producers were not ready to sign when the majority were, the committees requested that producers inform them as to the approximate date when they would have their materials ready for use in the contracts. For such producers another date and place was usually announced for each school district or each township for additional signing of contracts.

into districts and each district was visited by the township committeemen and volunteer workers. These men visited every corn-hog farmer who had not previously signed a contract, outlining in some detail the advantages of the corn-hog program. One of the most effective methods of persuasion used by the workers was to make an unofficial and preliminary estimate of the amount of benefits the producer would receive by participating. Farmers who refused to sign were asked for the same information that was required from farmers who did sign and this information was recorded on non-signer work sheets. If the farmer refused to give the information the committeeman filled in the work sheets from his own knowledge of the farm and from information obtained from neighbors.

The effort put forth in the clean-up campaign can be attributed primarily to: (1) the general enthusiasm³³ for the first Federal program of farm relief by control over prices; (2) the need for getting all contracts signed before first payments could be made; and (3) the feeling on the part of farmers that if a substantial number of farmers refused to sign contracts, the efforts to adjust prices by reducing supplies would fail.

The scope of the sign-up campaign was revealed when the State officials began determining the State and county corn and hog quotas of production. In the final reckoning, the sign-up in Iowa involved 175,765 contracts with estimated benefit payments of \$73,000,000. Included in this number were about 25,000 early payment contracts. These contract signers represented nearly 88 per cent of the 200,000 Iowa producers of corn and hogs. The contracts placed 88.6 per cent of the 1932-1933 average Iowa corn

³³ The State Committee learned of one promoter who was attempting to sell to farmers a particular type of fence post bearing the sign "Contracted Acres". He gave the impression that this particular post had been approved for use in fencing off the acres taken out of production in the program.

acreage and 90 per cent of the hog production under the corn-hog program. The average Iowa corn acreage for the two base years was 11,493,000 acres while the number of acres under contract in 1934 was 10,181,555 and of this acreage under contract an estimated total of 2,340,000 acres of corn land was to be rented to the administration. Iowa farmers produced 12,667,000 head of hogs on the average over the two base years and the producers of 11,410,000 of these signed contracts with the administration agreeing to reduce production by 2,850,000 in 1934.

The making out of these preliminary contracts was, however, only part of the procedure. The figures had to be checked and corrected and the final allotments to individual farmers still had to be worked out. How was this to be done?

COUNTY CONTROL ASSOCIATIONS

The key to the coöperative aspect of the corn-hog administration was the local control within the counties. The corn-hog program was designed to be voluntary; if a farmer thought it was more profitable for him to farm without restrictions, he was not forced to sign the adjustment agreement. To place the function of distributing production allotments to those who signed solely in the hands of government officials would have been bureaucracy of the highest order, and American traditions would not, it was felt, submit to administrative direction to that extent. The production statistics in the offices of the Department of Agriculture were to be the basis for production quotas by States and by counties, but within the counties the farmers themselves were to distribute the production allotments through locally elected county control committees.³⁴

The Corn and Hogs Section at Washington established

³⁴ Agricultural Adjustment Act, Section 10 (b).

the County Associations Unit on January 25, 1934, to develop the plans for the county control associations throughout the country. To this unit were delegated the responsibilities for the county association budgets, the treasurers' bonds, publication of production figures, and miscellaneous association matters.

The State Corn-Hog Advisory Committee had been appointed for three months beginning on December 1, 1933, to serve with the Extension Service in conducting the educational and sign-up campaigns and organizing the county control associations. By the end of February the sign-up campaign was not yet half completed, and the State Committee was reappointed to serve three additional months. Senator William McArthur of the State Committee was appointed State Budget Director for the corn-hog program and to act in other capacities as the State representative of the County Associations Unit of the Corn and Hogs Section.

Participation in the program automatically gave a farmer membership in the county control association. For this reason no organization work could be begun on these permanent associations until after the major portion of the sign-up work was completed. Every farmer had to have a chance to sign a contract before the selection of committees began. In most Iowa counties, where the final sign-up list ran from 1700 to 1800 about 1200 farmers participated in the selection of committees.

Organization of the Permanent Township Committees.—When the sign-up campaign had progressed sufficiently, the county agent and the chairman of the temporary county committee in each county called the temporary township directors together to plan the township organization meetings. This group determined whether the township should select

three or five men for the township committees and arranged the schedule of meetings. A representative of the Extension Service and a field man of the State Corn-Hog Advisory Committee attended these meetings at which the plans were made. The county press carried the schedule of township meetings and at least five days prior to the township meetings official notice was sent to all contract signers by the county agent.

The township meeting was called to order by the chairman of the temporary township committee that had worked on the sign-up campaign. One contract signer was elected by secret ballot to serve as chairman of the permanent township committee and as its director on the board of the county control association. In most cases two additional committeemen were selected to serve on the township committees, though three or four could be elected.

In many cases these township organization meetings were very informal, but the secret ballot was used at nearly all meetings in order to avoid possible criticism. In comparatively few instances did the election show that the choice of the signers was someone other than the chairman of the temporary committee. This fact is proof that the county agents and the State Corn-Hog Committee had been diplomatic and wise in their selection of the temporary committeemen and had been careful to select the most highly respected farmers in the communities to carry on the educational and sign-up campaigns.

The enthusiasm of some farmers to get the corn-hog program to functioning brought forth the organization of several permanent township committees³⁵ as early as Janu-

³⁵ Kane Township in Benton County organized its permanent committee on January 20, 1934. A week later the contract signers in five more townships in Benton County elected permanent township committees. A ruling that all landlords who signed contracts would be eligible to vote in the elections was submitted to the field from Washington on February 12th. A number of

ary, 1934, before complete rulings from Washington had been sent into the State, but most of these township meetings were held late in February and the organization of meetings of the boards of directors of the county control associations took place immediately afterwards.³⁶

Selection of the County Allotment Committees.—After all the townships in the county had held their organization meetings, the persons elected to the county board of directors met with a representative of the Extension Service and a State Committee field man to organize. The first meeting of the board of directors of a county control association was called for 9:30 A. M. so that the work of organization could be completed by noon. A school of instruction for all the permanent township committeemen upon appraising the yield of contracted acres was then held in the afternoon.

The first action taken by the board of directors was the adoption of the official articles of association in the form prepared by the Corn and Hogs Section at Washington.

The board of directors of the county control association chose one of its number to serve as president of the county association and chairman of the county allotment committee. In most cases the board elected four more of its number to serve on the allotment committee with the president, but in some cases the allotment committee consisted of the chairman and two additional members. A vice president of the association was also chosen by the direc-

scattered townships had already held their elections and all the townships in Adair County had selected committees, but the ruling was not made retroactive and new elections were not required.

³⁶ Early in February the Corn and Hogs Section at Washington urged that the organization meetings of the county boards of directors should not be held until after the clean-up campaign for contract signers had been completed. The relaxation of this stipulation was undoubtedly caused by the tardiness with which the sign-up campaign came to a close.

tors. He was not allowed by the articles of association to be a regular member of the allotment committee, but was to serve on the committee if the president or some other member was absent. The board was given the privilege of electing a secretary and a treasurer either from its own membership or from persons outside the board. Contrary to the advice of several persons in the corn-hog administration, eighty-eight counties elected the county agent to the position of secretary of the county control association because he was already working on the program and was receiving payment for expenses from the AAA. Benton County established the first permanent county organization, on February 17th, and the board of directors proceeded on that date to select the allotment committee for Benton County.

Every director, committee member, or officer of the control associations, except the secretary and treasurer, was required to be a contract signer. If a county officer did not again sign his contract after the adjustment of production figures by the county allotment committee, his position was regarded as automatically vacated and a special meeting of the contract signers in the township from which he came was called to select a new official. The number of cases where this was necessary was, however, negligible.

Financial Operations of the County Control Associations.—One of the actions required of the board of directors at its organization meeting, according to the articles of association, was the formulation of a budget to cover the expenses of the association until July 1, 1934. It was necessary, however, to postpone this action because detailed instructions upon the preparation of the budget had not arrived from the Corn and Hogs Section at Washington by the time most of the permanent county control associations were organized.

When instructions on the preparation of the association budgets were finally available, the county president called a special meeting of the board of directors for his county. A complete account of the work that had already been done by the temporary committees in the sign-up campaign was presented to the board. The board fixed a rate of compensation for the work and included the costs of the sign-up campaign. In most counties the maximum of \$3 per day was paid to these workers, but in a number of counties the township committeemen working on the sign-up campaign donated their services. On the average, this item amounted to approximately \$2000 for a county, or about \$1 per contract. In many counties no allowance was made for the traveling expenses of the temporary committeemen, but in a number of counties the costs of travel of temporary committeemen appeared in the budget at from \$500 to \$1000.

With the assistance of the county agent, a State Committee field man, and an Extension supervisor, the board then proceeded to estimate the costs of administering the program down to June 30, 1934. An attempt was made, insofar as possible, to estimate these costs on the bases of the number of contracts in the county, the number of acres of corn under contract, and the number of hogs under contract. Allowances had to be made for variations. The costs of township committees would, for example, be increased if the corn fields were of irregular shapes and sizes. The maximum of 5 cents per mile was allowed for travel on mud roads.

The Corn and Hogs Section at Washington set \$3.00 per day as the maximum compensation for township committeemen and directors of the county control associations and \$4.00 per day as the maximum for county allotment committeemen. It provided that the State Extension Director or the State Budget Director (AAA) might provide a lower

maximum rate of compensation for the State, but no such action was taken in Iowa. It was expected that many farmers would donate their services and in all cases, "persons taking part in the program must have sufficient interest in its success to work for a nominal rate of pay." In Iowa, most of the county positions required practically the whole time of the farmer during the busiest parts of the crop production season. The budget form provided space for subsistence expenses for county officials, but allowance for such expenses was discouraged by the State agencies and was made in only a very few cases.

The county control association budgets for the period prior to June 30, 1934, varied from \$8000 to \$14,000, the average being about \$10,000. The budgets varied primarily with the number of acres of corn and the number of hogs produced in the counties and with the number of acres of corn and number of hogs per farm. Some variation was explained by the assistance provided by the county agent and the willingness of the committeemen to coöperate with the county agent, Extension supervisors, field statisticians, and State Committee field men, and to submit to the regulations of the corn-hog program in general. The amount of production per farm was very important in calculating budget estimates because many of the duties of the county allotment and township committees were as costly in relation to a small farming unit as a large one.

In the determination of the county association budget for the period from July 1, 1934, to February 1, 1935, the board of directors had the expense accounts for the first period to guide them. The committees did not know, however, that in many cases the work would be prolonged by the dispute over the county quotas which developed in July and August. Furthermore, most of the work of the second period was to be a new function — checking compliance

with the corn-hog contracts. The costs of this proved to be larger than any work the committees had previously performed. A large field force was found to be necessary in each county and it continued to function full time for several weeks.³⁷

The administrative expenses of the county control associations were paid out of the money allotted to the farmers of that county for benefit payments. In Iowa they averaged about three per cent of the total payments in the 1934 corn-hog program. There was, however, a variation of from less than two per cent in a few counties to more than five per cent in two counties. The costs of local administration varied from less than \$8 per contract to more than \$16 per contract.

The county association budgets were submitted to the State Corn-Hog Committee, together with the reports of both the organization meetings and the special meetings of the boards of directors. There the budget was reviewed by Senator William McArthur, State Budget Director, who began the work of analyzing budgets about April 1st. The Corn and Hogs Section stipulated that no corn-hog contracts, including early payment contracts, should be certified to the administration by the State Board of Review until after the county budget had been submitted to the State Committee. In his certification of county association budgets to the County Associations Unit at Washington the State Budget Director made special explanation of items which on the surface appeared to be excessive.

According to the articles of incorporation the county board of directors was required to determine the manner

³⁷ The costs of the work of compliance supervisors and their field assistants varied widely, from \$4000 to \$9000, with the average about \$6000, which was about \$3.50 for each contract. In most cases the county allotment committee expenses were nearly twice as great during the second period as during the first. The average allotment committee cost for the period was about \$2000.

and costs of publishing the production figures from the contracts in local newspapers. The State Extension Service suggested 35 cents per contract as the maximum that the county board might pay for publication. In counties where the local press had not organized and presented to the board an allotment of the contracts between the several newspapers, the board sometimes obtained the publication of the data for an amount considerably under the maximum, but the newspapers usually demanded the maximum, and on the average the cost of this printing and publication ran very close to the maximum of 35 cents per contract, or about \$650 for the average county.

Bonds of County Association Treasurers.—The administration required that the treasurer of each county control association be bonded for a part of the semi-annual budget of the association, and that these bonds be carried by bona fide surety companies acceptable to the United States Treasury Department. The bond was required to amount to the total of all expense items for which the Treasury Department issued checks payable to the county association treasurer, less the amount of satisfactory receipts received at the Washington office for expense items paid by the county association treasurer. The bonds averaged from \$5000 to \$6000 for the county associations in Iowa, at a cost of \$10 per \$1000. The cost of the bond was to be treated as an administrative expense.

ADJUSTMENT OF PRODUCTION FIGURES AND CALCULATION OF INDIVIDUAL ALLOTMENTS

The corn-hog program provided that individual allotments of corn acreage and hogs produced for market should be based on the average production and acreage for the years 1932 and 1933. Theoretically this was a simple

matter: each farmer was to raise not more than 75 per cent as many hogs as he had raised the previous two years and was to cut his corn acreage by 20 per cent. If he complied with this reduction requirement he would receive the \$5.00 per head for 75 per cent of his average hog crop for 1932 and 1933 and the government paid him rent for the acres withdrawn from corn production.

It was not, however, as simple as it appeared, for farmers often kept inadequate records and had failed to preserve various papers concerning sales and purchases. Lacking records, farmers had to fall back upon their memories as to the number of pigs farrowed and sold and the number of acres of corn planted and the yield per acre. Quite naturally a farmer could not always recall the exact figures and quite naturally, too, he would be inclined to overestimate rather than underestimate his figures, since the benefit payments he would receive would depend upon the number of hogs raised and the bushels of corn produced.

To get the figures from the farmers was the first step and these were secured on the work sheets submitted with the contracts. But there had to be verification of these figures and some general supervision of the contracts. This check on the figures submitted by the farmers was made partly by the township committee men and the county allotment committees, but the contract figures were also subjected to scrutiny by State and Federal officials and were compared with various statistics which indicated corn and hog production in the various States and counties.

The work of coördinating the various statistics for Iowa was largely in the hands of the Federal agricultural statistician, the State Board of Review, county tabulators, and the county allotment boards.

County Tabulators.—The Agricultural Adjustment Ad-

ministration made provision for a limited number of tabulating clerks for large corn and hog producing counties in the country. The Federal agricultural statisticians for the States determined in which counties county tabulators should be appointed. In counties where there were no tabulators, the work was divided between the allotment committee and the statistician for the State. From three to five tabulators were appointed for each county in Iowa. Appointments were made about February 1st by the statistician for the State on the basis of standardized examinations and county agents' recommendations. The tabulators were selected before the election of the permanent county committees and worked under the immediate supervision of the county agents, performing functions designated by the statistician.

The State Board of Review.—The administrative structure for determining contract allotments included a State Board of Review to establish the county quotas and to review allotments made by the county allotment committees. After this board was selected, the county tabulators virtually constituted a field force for it. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration provided that the State Board should consist of at least three members, including the Federal agricultural statistician for the State, a representative of the State Agricultural College trained in statistical methods and economics, and a qualified farmer who should be a member of the State Corn-Hog Committee. The Board was vested with three primary functions: (1) examining and approving contracts and certifying them to the corn-hog administration at Washington; (2) establishing county and township quotas; and (3) assisting county allotment committees in making whatever final adjustments would be necessary within the counties.

In February it was announced that Leslie M. Carl, the Federal agricultural statistician for Iowa, would be chairman of the State Board of Review. A few days later Dr. A. G. Black, Chief of the Corn and Hogs Section, announced as the other two members, R. M. Evans, chairman of the State Corn-Hog Committee, and Professor J. L. Boatman, soils specialist of the Extension Service of Iowa State College at Ames. The appointments were identical with the recommendations forwarded to Dr. Black by the State Corn-Hog Committee.

Checking the Corn-Hog Contracts.—As soon as a farmer agreed to sign a regular payment contract, giving his figures of corn and hog production for 1932 and 1933, the papers were sent to the county headquarters, where the county tabulators examined them for arithmetical errors and for general reasonableness of data, referring the contracts in which the figures did not check properly to the county allotment committee. If corrections required an interview with the farmer, such contracts were referred back to the township committee which contacted the signer. A similar examination was made of non-signer work sheets.

The county tabulators listed the figures given on the contracts³⁸ and forwarded them to the State Board of Review for use in compiling the county quota. The contracts themselves, with all attached forms, were given to the county allotment committee to be checked for validity of signatures, proper division of payments, completeness of information, and adequacy of supplementary forms. The town-

³⁸ The tabulators listed the data from the contracts and non-signer work sheets on large listing sheets, using separate sheets for early payment contracts, regular payment contracts, and non-signer work sheets. They did not list data from early payment contracts until signatures of producer and landlord (where required) were given correctly on all three copies of the contract, ready to be typed and verified for immediate forwarding to Washington.

ship committeeman usually assisted in this check and if contracts needed correction the township representatives were made responsible for making the necessary changes. In some counties the committee left this checking to the tabulators.

When contract figures had been tabulated and the figures sent in to Des Moines and the contracts themselves had been checked for general accuracy and validity, the county allotment committee prepared the data from the contracts for publication,³⁹ in accordance with the first announcement made concerning the corn-hog program, in October, 1933. This publication plan had a two-fold purpose: it was believed that published figures, if inaccurate, would be corrected by some one who knew the facts; and, secondly, it was believed that if a farmer knew that his report would be made public he would be more careful of his statements.

In connection with the publication, the announcement was made that any person might make a confidential report, oral or written, to the county allotment committee or to the township committee if he found any statement in the published contracts which he believed to be inaccurate. In very few counties in Iowa, however, did such reports exceed a dozen. In two counties the reports numbered about 150. In the cases reported, the allotment committee and the township committee made a special effort to detect errors. On the other hand, it must be admitted that it was not the number of these reports but the threat of reports that made the publication of data valuable.

After preparation of the contract data for publication, the regular payment contracts were returned to the township committees for comparing the contract representations with the farm and appraising the yield of contracted

³⁹ Publication was made optional in the 1935 program.

acres. On the average this work in Iowa required about three weeks. When the county allotment committee approved the township committee certifications, the certifications, contracts, etc., went to the county tabulators for verification of any weighted averages and for transfer of corn yield appraisals from the certifications onto the contracts and onto the listing sheets that had been returned by the State Board of Review. When all the estimates of corn yield had been made and transferred to the listing sheets, the summaries of corn yield appraisals were forwarded to the State Board of Review.

Early Payment Contracts.—It has already been stated that of the 175,765 contracts signed in Iowa about 25,000 were those in which the farmer agreed beforehand to accept the production quota assigned to him by the county allotment committee. Most of these early payment contracts were signed during the first few weeks of the sign-up campaign. The number varied by counties, ranging from none at all in some counties to as high as 1450 out of a total of 2450 in one county. This variation was, it appears, due largely to the stress placed upon early payments by the county agents and the county and township committees during the educational and sign-up campaigns. In some counties the leaders “viewed with alarm” the proposal that the farmers waive their rights to object; in others, they emphasized the advantage of getting money quickly without waiting for what might be tedious red tape.

The early payment contracts were similar in form and effect to the regular contracts, but instead of a preliminary signature when the contract was made out and a final signature when the allotments had been finally determined, a sticker — known as the “red rider” — was affixed to the early payment contract and the farmer signed this. Such

contracts required only one signature. The emphasis all along the line was on haste.

When it became apparent that the work of the county tabulators would delay the early payment contracts too long to give them much of an advantage, the State Board of Review ordered the county allotment committees to check such contracts for errors in signatures, division of reduction payments, description of farm, map of farm, completeness of form, and the like, without waiting for the tabulators to do this work.⁴⁰ The contracts, having been checked in this way, were sent back to the township committee as soon as the data from them had been tabulated and the township committee at once began the work of estimating the yield of corn on the acreage withdrawn from production. These yields were estimated by getting the statement of the farmer himself, from general knowledge of the farm, and from estimates of yields for the county supplied by the Crop and Livestock Estimates Division of the Department of Agriculture at Washington. These estimates were based on ten-year averages. They were not released for publication but were used confidentially by the committees. At least one member of the township committee visited the farm, checked the items, and made an appraisal of the corn yield.

In some cases the committee worked for a day or two as a single unit in appraising yields of corn, checking acreage and hog production, etc., in order that they might become familiar with the work and give suggestions to each other. After that they proceeded to work separately but came together at the beginning or close of each day for the purpose of reviewing and signing the certification

⁴⁰ A large number of the allotment committees in both Iowa and Kansas had county tabulators do a considerable portion of this work until the State Boards of Review insisted that county tabulators be confined to verifying computations and listing data for statistical use.

blanks. In many counties all of the township committees were called in for a county meeting after they had had a few days' work on appraisal. In these meetings the committee members compared notes and discussed questions that had arisen in regard to their instructions and administrative rulings.

The State Board of Review in Iowa required that figures from the early payment contracts be sent to its office for a sample check before they were sent to Washington. This was done by taking a certain number of contracts (perhaps every tenth) and checking these carefully. Within the first week of receipts of contracts, just after April 1st, the State Board rejected the contracts sent in from 25 counties on account of mistakes.

On April 8th, the first contracts of the entire corn-hog program, having been certified by the Iowa Board of Review, were forwarded to Washington for the first payment—a packet of 213 early payment contracts from Marion County, Iowa.⁴¹ When the consignment arrived at the Contract Records Section in Washington, the machinery was immediately shifted into high gear in an attempt to get the first benefit payments into the field within a week. Contracts from other counties followed rapidly during the next few weeks, as field statisticians, working under the Board of Review and Extension supervisors, showed county committees how to avoid the mistakes that had held up the first contracts.

⁴¹ The following information was listed on the transmittal sheets that were used by the State Board of Review to approve contracts: (1) serial numbers of contracts; (2) names of producers; (3) average corn acreage 1932-1933; (4) number of contracted acres; (5) average yield of corn per acre of contracted acres; (6) average hog litters 1932-1933; (7) average number of hogs produced for market 1932-1933; (8) delayed or refused notation. Four copies of these transmittal sheets were made. The State Board certified the contracts to Washington on one of these and retained another. The county allotment committee forwarded one to Washington with the packet of contracts and kept the fourth for its files.

The Quota System.—The corn-hog program was not, fundamentally, a quota system, but it was obvious that some check had to be made on production figures turned in by the individual farmers. This check came both from the local representatives and from the State Board of Review. In formulating county quotas, the Board of Review had, in addition to the figures in the contracts themselves, various reports and statistics as to corn and hog production in Iowa.

While the township and county boards and committees had been checking the contracts for accuracy and validity, the State Board had been struggling with the computation of production quotas for the counties, or rather in the compilation of totals with which to compare the totals turned in by the counties. In this work the State Board was assisted by representatives of the Corn and Hogs Section of the Federal Department of Agriculture and it was furnished data by other agencies.

The Crop and Livestock Estimates Division had statistics on corn and hogs obtained from several different sources. Every five years the Federal census provided production figures by counties. To establish reliable county totals for the intervening four years the Division made an estimate of the change from the census year preceding on the bases of a wide sampling of figures provided by the farmers themselves. In Iowa these figures were secured from "rural carrier cards" sent to 10,000 representative farmers, about five per cent of the total.

Another source of data was the Bureau of Animal Industry, furnishing regular reports on the number of hogs slaughtered under Federal inspection. The meat packers and the railroads also provided similar data to the Crop and Livestock Estimates Division. These figures, of course, did not include hogs slaughtered in local butcher shops and on farms.

The county quotas were based: (1) on the figures turned in by the contract signers and by the non-signers who filled out work sheets; (2) on the estimates furnished by the various governmental bureaus and departments, by the census, and by the Federal agricultural statistician for Iowa; and (3) on reports turned in by processors and carriers. It was, however, recognized that such statistics were not complete nor were they entirely reliable, although the corn-hog administration was satisfied that the computation for the State was fairly accurate. The data by counties was open to question. From these figures the Board of Review formulated the county quotas, making allowance for incomplete data.

The next task was to prepare computations of the proportion the production by the contract signers bore to the production of the entire county and then to compare this production quota of all the signers in a county with the total production figures submitted by the producers who signed contracts. It was taken for granted that the total submitted by the farmers would be larger than the quota fixed by the Board of Review. If the comparison of the county contract totals with the quota showed only a two or three per cent overstatement, the Board decided that its quota was probably too high. If the variation amounted to 30 or 35 per cent, it was generally agreed that the quota was too small. The minimum overstatement of contract totals over the county quota figured for the signers, it was calculated, would be about 7 or 8 per cent, the maximum 20 or 25 per cent. The average spread between the farmers' figures and the quota tentatively adopted by the Board of Review was about 9 per cent for hogs. The overstatement in base corn acreage was 3 or 4 per cent; in the yield of contracted acres, from 10 to 20 per cent.

When the county production figures exceeded the tenta-

tive quota fixed by the State Board of Review it is obvious that the Board could either raise its quota figure or order the county allotment committee to remove sufficient overstatement from individual contracts to make the county total agree with the quota. Since the quota for the State was considered reasonably accurate, the State Board could not increase county quotas to any great extent, although it might shift figures from one county to another. For the most part, however, the difference had to be removed by reduction in the contract figures.

Adjustment of Production Figures.—On May 18th the State Board of Review completed the work of establishing county quotas on corn acreage and hog production. The next day the Board met with the State Corn-Hog Committee field force, Extension supervisors, and agricultural statisticians to give final instructions for the use of the quotas. The State Committee field men and the Extension supervisors personally carried the county quotas to every county in Iowa. At that time they gave final instructions to the county allotment committee for revising production figures and approving individual allotments, retyping the contracts, getting the signatures of producers, and sending the regular payment contracts to Washington for the first benefit payments. It was assumed that this work would take the county committees about two weeks on the average.

When county allotment committees were given their county quotas, protests immediately began going to the office of the Board of Review and some direct to Washington. It was revealed that the State Board had cut the corn acreage figures about 5 per cent and the figures on hogs produced for market about 9 per cent from the figures reported by the farmers for the base years. Some counties had reported production for the base years that were con-

siderably more out of line with the statistical records than others and had been asked to reduce the figures accordingly. Some counties, on the other hand, were satisfied with the quotas assigned them and prepared to speed the revision of contract figures, typing of contracts, and completion of the task of getting the final signatures of producers on contracts. The Board of Review refused to make the county quotas public, thus incurring the criticism of a number of county allotment committees.

When the State Board released the quotas, many of the allotment committeemen desired to resign from their positions. Highly respected and well liked in their communities, these committeemen had no desire to incur the enmity of farmers whose supporting evidence would not withstand the reduction in contract figures made necessary by the contract quotas. One of the factors that prohibited wholesale resignation at this time, however, was the fact that no expense checks had been issued before this time and were not to be issued until the contracts from the respective counties were accepted for the first payment by the administration at Washington. In order to be reimbursed, it was necessary for a committeeman to complete his work to the extent of helping to remove overstatements.⁴²

⁴² Several county allotment committee chairmen called a meeting at Des Moines for May 24th to take up the difficulties of complying with the county quotas. A few of the committeemen were very anxious to get committees throughout the State to defy the use of county quotas in wholesale, although some chairmen admitted that they knew the production figures for the base years were overstated. The forty chairmen at the meeting voted that the administration should leave the adjustment of the producers' figures to the county allotment committees, that each allotment committee should satisfy the State Board of Review as to the correctness of the data, and that the administration should not make any blanket cut in producers' figures after the county committees had made final adjustments. Ralph Moyer, regional consultant for the corn-hog program, attended the meeting of the county chairmen, stressed the importance of Iowa's action in the entire National corn-hog program, and aided in clarifying special problems brought up by committee chairmen.—*The Des Moines Register*, May 25, 1934.

Some of the farmers misunderstood the purpose of the county quotas. They thought that the administration would require a flat cut of 5 per cent on corn acreage and 9 per cent on hog production representations. Some thought the county allotment committees themselves would make flat cuts on the contracts according to their quotas.

In several cases men told allotment committees that there was no need to reduce contract figures to the point required by the quotas. They would, they told the committees, see that the contracts were approved for payment without reductions in figures. Eager to avoid the onerous duty of revising the contract figures, some committees practically ceased the work of taking out overstatement. Most of them, however, were persuaded by the State field men that political pressure could not be made effective to this extent upon the State Board of Review and the Corn and Hogs Section. Newspaper accounts of the failure of Farm Bureau leaders to persuade Chester C. Davis, Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, that the quotas should be relinquished resulted in many committees returning with renewed vigor to the work of adjusting production figures in contracts.

Adjustment of Data on Hogs.—At the time the county quotas were submitted to them by the State Board, the allotment committees had already worked from two to three weeks upon the corn-hog contracts, removing overstatements. They had made comparisons in several ways of all the data on the county tabulator listing sheets: by townships, figures of contract signers with those of non-signers, early payment contracts with regular payment contracts, etc.

The next step in the removal of overstatement was the examination of each individual item on the sales receipts,

weight tickets, signed statements of persons or agencies buying, selling, or consigning hogs, farm account records, etc. Falsification of figures on sales slips were detected by careful observation. Statements by buyers known to be opposed to the program were questioned. The weights of hogs sold and the dates sold were carefully compared to detect the inclusion of hogs farrowed before December 1, 1931. In this connection a knowledge of a farmer's hog production habits was often used to determine whether he raised pigs to marketable weights as fast as his representations showed.⁴³

A very effective method of eliminating feeder pig purchases from hog production figures was used through co-operation between counties. A county allotment committee receiving information on contracts and supporting evidence that sales of pigs were made to farmers in other counties furnished the allotment committees in those counties with the information they had on the sales, including the names of purchasers, number of hogs, and dates of sales. The same type of data was obtained from auction sales records and other sources. In areas where feeder pigs were bought in large numbers at central markets, the

⁴³ Typical reasons for revision of hog production figures were: (1) lack of any supporting evidence; (2) weights of hogs sold merely estimated and not actual; (3) feeder pigs or litters purchased at auction sales as evidenced by county sale books but not reported on statement of supporting evidence as feeder pig purchases; (4) feeder pigs reported by one contract signer as sold to another contract signer, but not listed on statement of supporting evidence of second contract signer as feeder pig purchases (reduction was made from the second signer's base figures); (5) double entry of breeding stock in which sows were claimed to be kept for breeding but sales evidence showed they were sold; (6) disparity between neighbors' count and statement of supporting evidence; (7) hogs which due to date sold and weight at time of sale appeared to have been farrowed before December 1, 1931; (8) lack of packing company or commission firm evidence, properly stamped, for sales of sows in the Emergency Hog Buying Campaign; (9) reports of inaccuracy of hog production figures as published in local newspapers followed by careful check with neighbors; (10) wide disparity between contract figures and assessors' figures.

information was obtained from the Bureau of Animal Industry inspectors.

Nearly all of the county allotment committees visited the office of the State Board of Review to persuade the Board that all overstatement had been removed or to obtain recommendations as to the methods of removing overstatement. In these visits the State Board emphasized that the county quotas were designed primarily to provide a standard by which it would be determined to what extent the allotment committees had removed the overstatement in the contracts. The Board also explained certain methods by which committeemen could evaluate supporting evidence submitted by the farmers. It showed the committeemen the extent to which the representations made by some farmers in their contracts exceeded other data upon them, such as was contained in assessors' reports, rural carrier cards, etc. In some cases where the discrepancies were large and the allotment committees did not have reliable data upon the farmers involved, the State Board members or the field statisticians recommended specific reductions in figures.

The State Board, however, decidedly opposed a flat percentage reduction in hog figures. This method was almost completely avoided by making reductions on the basis of classification of supporting evidence according to quality, removing representations for which the supporting evidence was the lowest in quality. On the average it took the county allotment committees and the township committees about two months to remove the overstatement of hog production from the contracts.

Adjustment of Corn Acreage Figures.—When hog production allotments had been established, the committees turned their attention to corn acreage. The contracts and maps of farms and contracted acres were taken into the field by the township committeemen. They personally in-

spected the fields represented as 1933 corn acreage to observe evidence of corn production in the way of corn stubble and stalks. In many cases they measured all the fields claimed to be 1932 and 1933 corn acreage. Many of the committees had the farmers draw maps of their farms, outlining all fields, indicating the number of acres in each, and specifying the crops planted on each field in each of the base years, 1932 and 1933. If the 1932 acreage was larger than that for 1933, they obtained explanations from the farmer in order to assure themselves that the discrepancy was not due to a tendency on the part of the producer to exaggerate his 1932 acreage. The number of tons of corn silage produced in each of the two years was verified as far as possible by an approximation of the capacity of the silo. The removal of overstatement of corn acreage figures by the county allotment and township committees required about four weeks, on the average.

When the larger part of the regular payment contracts had been forwarded to Washington for payment, those county allotment committees that had not handled the early payment contracts for final adjustments at the same time that they adjusted regular payment contract figures proceeded to examine the early payment contracts again. The "green riders" for early payment contracts were filled out with producers' base production figures and the tentatively approved base production figures. The county allotment and township committees then prepared the final adjusted figures as they had done for the regular payment contracts. If a producer's figures had been too high and the first payment had been larger than the adjusted contract figures called for, the excess was deducted from the next payment.

Acceptance of Contract Adjustments by Producers.—

Upon receipt of county totals of contract figures as finally adjusted by the allotment committees, the State Board of Review compared them with the county quotas. Township totals were compared with other available figures on production by townships. When the State Board found these allotment committee certifications at variance with quotas, it further analyzed the data on individual farmers, attempted to determine in what respect the allotment committee had failed to adjust production figures, and contacted the committees through its field statisticians to recommend further adjustments before second signatures were obtained on the contracts. After the Board certified the county and township totals of base figures, the final copies of the contracts were typed in triplicate and ready for the second signatures.⁴⁴

When the contracts with the adjusted production figures were taken to the farmers for the second signature, approximately 99 per cent signed their contracts.⁴⁵ In Hardin County only two out of 2033 of the original signers refused to place their names upon the adjusted contracts.

⁴⁴ The county allotment committees submitted the typed copies of the contracts to the township committees who contacted the signers to obtain the final signatures of the producers and all landlords whose signatures were necessary and who lived within their respective jurisdictions. As the large part of the contracts for each township were released to the township committees at one time, this operation was performed largely by holding specific contract signing days within the townships and asking producers to come to the location to sign the typed copies of the adjusted contracts. This second signature was in reality the producer's acceptance of the county allotment committee's adjustments of production figures.

⁴⁵ In the middle of May it had been thought that producers might in many cases wish to reject contracts because they had already planted corn and farrowed pigs before the individual allotments were made. It was assumed, however, that in view of the fact that 130,000 corn-hog producers had contracted with the Secretary of Agriculture in their corn-loan agreements to sign corn-hog contracts, there would be relatively few rejections. At that time the Commodity Credit Corporation, which administered the corn-loan program, said that necessary steps would be taken to enforce compliance with borrowers' agreements to participate in the corn-hog program.

When the contracts, as adjusted by the allotment committee, had been signed, transmittal sheets listing the production data from the contracts were forwarded to the State Board of Review. The Board proceeded to analyze the data for each one of the individual contracts that had been accepted by the producers. The adjusted base figures were compared with other data in its office on the production of individual farmers, such as township assessors' figures, census figures, crop reporters' figures, rural carrier cards, and actual market records.⁴⁶

Dispute over State Hog Quota.—Audubon County was the first Iowa county to send all its regular payment contracts to Washington for benefit payments, but in spite of the fact that they were sent early in June, 1934, no payments had come early in July. The AAA failed to reply to telegrams concerning these contracts. On July 25th more than 26,000 regular payment contracts from some 56 Iowa counties were suspended. The Washington officials insisted that the Iowa hog production quota was 11,410,000, while the Iowa State Board of Review upheld the figure 11,900,000.⁴⁷ It was finally determined that the Iowa contracts would be accepted or suspended solely upon the basis of supporting evidence. A group of Federal statisticians and producer field men from other States were

⁴⁶ *The Des Moines Register*, July 13, 1934.

⁴⁷ In connection with the quota dispute the three members of the Board of Review hurried to Washington to arrive on July 26th with facts and figures with which they attempted to prove that revision of Iowa quotas and contracts at that late date would not only be an injustice to the Iowa contract signers but would jeopardize the corn-hog program. Political pressure of every sort was placed upon the Corn and Hogs Section, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Secretary of Agriculture. Contracts and supporting evidence for hog production in the base years were submitted to the officials with the challenge to remove any more overstatement on the basis of the figures and supporting evidence if they could. The State Board of Review was assured that the counties would not be arbitrarily required to adjust production figures as low as the county quotas had been set.

given complete authority to release Iowa counties for payment after sample checks of supporting evidence in each county. John B. Wilson, farmer and State committee field man from Ohio, directed the examination of Iowa contracts.

The newspapers carried announcements during the next few days that the contract production figures of certain counties were found to be valid. In some cases, however, the statisticians refused to accept the statements of Iowa farmers and allotment committees concerning production figures.⁴⁸ They refused to accept, for example, the explanation of a farmer's neighbors that seven feeder pigs had died after their purchase by the contract signer. They likewise objected to the statements from Calhoun County that an Iowa hog could reach the weight of 200 pounds in seven months after it was farrowed. The checkers admitted that the allotments in the 19 counties that had been released were satisfactory, but they insisted that some counties might have to take a blanket cut on their production figures.

By August 21st the last county of the drought area was released for benefit payments with the total number of counties certified by the outside checkers mounting to 73. By the end of August the total number of counties released for benefit payments was 93. It was announced at this time that the administration checkers would undoubtedly recom-

⁴⁸ Difficulties of the highest degree were met by the allotment committee and the outside checkers at Benton County when the two attempted to reconcile their views of production figures on individual contracts. The checkers maintained that nearly 200 farmers had overstated their hog production in 1932 and 1933. Nearly 100 of these were easily persuaded to take the figures determined by the checkers and affix their signatures to the final contract forms, but the allotment committees stood steadfastly behind those who refused the checkers' figures. The president of the county control association made a trip to Washington, placed the situation before Dr. A. G. Black and Secretary Wallace, but returned without gaining satisfaction from the administration heads. The difficulty in this particular county finally proved to be the result of the State Committee field man's attempt to gain popularity with the farmers of the county by telling the allotment committee to approve contract figures as represented by the producers.

mend payment on 99.9 per cent of the hog production totals that had been approved by the State Board of Review. This meant paying Iowa farmers on the basis of 340,000 more hogs than the Federal statisticians had originally established in their quotas. In a few counties where adjustments were made by the checkers the county totals were affected but little, but changes were made upon individual contracts. The difference between the quotas approved originally by the administration statisticians and the production figures allowed by the checkers meant a difference of more than a million dollars in benefit payments to Iowa farmers. After two months of work the checkers recommended changes of less than one per cent from the figures previously determined by the State Board of Review. The chairman of the Board of Review said that unofficial figures showed that the administration statisticians finally accepted figures that were 150,000 in excess of those the Board had used as a State quota.

In spite of the fact that higher hog production allotments and benefit payments were allowed than the quotas indicated, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration officials who precipitated the dispute were not convinced that the State quota they had established was incorrect. They believed that the difference between the State quota and the final hog production allotments allowed was due to inclusion of feeder pigs in the base figures for pigs farrowed and raised for market from sows owned at the time of farrowing. They justified the larger allotments on the needs for cash drought relief, on reductions in grain and live-stock production due to the drought, and on tardiness of allotment adjustments in relation to production seasons.

COMPLIANCE WITH THE CORN-HOG CONTRACTS

Compliance with the corn-hog contracts and actual pro-

duction within the contract allotments were necessary to make the program effective in raising corn and hog prices. To determine whether he was to perform his part of the contract, the Secretary of Agriculture needed to know whether the individual farmers were complying with the terms of their contracts. To certify to him the compliance or non-compliance of contract signers he determined to utilize the same local administrative agencies that he had used to determine the amount that each farmer should be allowed to produce under the economic principle of production adjustment. And so the county allotment committees were given the responsibility of directing the compliance work within the counties and certifying compliance on the individual contracts to the Corn and Hogs Section at Washington.

One phase of the compliance work had been started early in the corn-hog program. This was the farm records campaign, conducted by the Extension Service during the sign-up campaign, and the distribution of farm record books upon which compliance checkers would rely for part of the figures for compliance work.

The Corn and Hogs Section selected R. M. Evans of Laurens, Iowa, as Director of Compliance in Iowa.⁴⁹ His position as chairman of the State Committee directly integrated the Committee's functions with the compliance administration. Integration of administrative responsibility in this manner was particularly desirable in Iowa because the State Committee exercised a high degree of

⁴⁹ Mr. Evans, a farmer and a corn-hog contract signer, had been associated with the corn-hog program from its beginning. He served on the first Iowa State Committee of nineteen members to suggest a corn-hog program and on the National Producers' Committee of Twenty-Five in the formulation of the program. He was chairman of the State Corn-Hog Advisory Committee, which participated in the educational and sign-up campaigns, administered the work of the county control associations, and assisted in the adjustment of production quotas. He served on the State Board of Review in the administration of production quota adjustments.

authority in the Iowa corn-hog administration.⁵⁰ The Extension Service conducted the training conferences for county officials and compliance supervisors working under the county allotment committees.

The county allotment committees nominated one person to serve as compliance supervisor in the county for each 40 contracts. From this list of nominees, the State Compliance Director appointed one supervisor from the list of nominees for each 50 contracts in the county, which in effect was only a general approval of the whole list. These supervisors might be contract signers but that qualification was not required. The allotment committee was authorized to discharge a supervisor if it saw fit and appoint one of the others on their list. This, in effect, put the appointment in the hands of the committee.

The committees were advised to recommend men who favored the new plan, were familiar with the provisions of the program, and would do the work efficiently and diplomatically, so as to maintain the confidence of farmers in the program. An attempt was made to get the township committeemen to perform this work, but in some cases they refused it on the grounds of pressing farm work or inability to obtain responsible farm laborers for the wages paid for compliance work. Many of these committeemen recommended younger farm laborers for the work, in some cases the sons of committeemen. As soon as the supervisors were appointed, the Extension field supervisors conducted training schools for them in each county. These were held between August 8th and 23rd.

⁵⁰ In most States the State Committee exercised only advisory functions in relation to the State Compliance Director, and the Director was not definitely responsible to the Committee. In such States outside the Corn Belt, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration allotments of funds for compliance work were made directly to the Extension Service. Even in the Corn Belt nearly all of the State Compliance Directors were officials in the Extension Service.

First Check on Compliance.—The compliance supervisors, ordinarily two to each township, divided between them the farms under contract in the township. This was usually according to location.⁵¹ A letter was then sent to every contract signer about the work of certifying compliance with the corn-hog contracts. His coöperation in having materials and data assembled, it was explained, would be valuable to him as one of the contract signers, since the costs of the compliance work were paid by subtracting the necessary percentage from each contract. A few days later the supervisors began work. Usually the supervisors telephoned the producers to set dates for checking production and scheduled their work only a few days at a time.

Compliance supervisors visited the farm of each contract signer and made a detailed report to the county allotment committee upon all corn acreage, contracted acreage, and hog production. Except in severe drought areas they measured all cornfields and contracted acreage.⁵²

⁵¹ No supervisor was allowed to certify his compliance with the corn-hog program on his own contract.

⁵² The supervisors were instructed to secure capable assistants for measuring fields. Each supervisor was supplied with a field book for his work. When he visited a farm, he observed the arrangement of cornfields and drew a sketch of them in his field book. He proceeded to measure the acreage of the actual ground planted to corn. Deductions were made for fences, lanes, end rows, turn rows, etc. The area of each cornfield in square feet was entered upon the diagram of fields in the field book. If the corn acreage exceeded that permitted for grain and this excess acreage of corn was small and it was clearly evident to the supervisor that the excess represented an honest error on the part of the producer, the supervisor informed the producer he might cut the excess corn for forage immediately or before ears developed or he might permit the corn to mature for grain, subject to a penalty commensurable with the value of an average corn crop on the acreage that exceeded the allotment. In such cases he reported his measurements to the county allotment committee, but made no certification at the time. If the producer elected to cut the excess, the supervisor returned a few days later to see that it had been cut. If the excess corn acreage was relatively large or it appeared that a deliberate attempt had been made to exceed the corn acreage allotment, the matter was handed to the allotment committee for settlement.

In areas where the supervisors certified that the 1934 yield of corn acreage would not exceed 40 per cent of the adjusted appraised yield of contracted acres, the producer and supervisor signed a certificate that they had inspected the fields planted to corn on the farm and that it was their honest opinion and judgment that the total estimated acres in corn did not exceed the permitted corn acreage for 1934. This provision saved a great deal of time and expense for compliance supervisors in southern counties of the State and significantly reduced the administrative expenses in these counties.

The supervisor noted in his field book the use being made of contracted acres and verified the location of contracted acres on the map of the farm prepared during the sign-up campaign. He made a separate entry for his measurements of contracted acres and for the corn acreage not to be harvested for grain but planted for forage pursuant to administrative rulings to relieve the shortage caused by drought. He recorded the date this forage acreage was planted and the date before which it was to be harvested. He also checked the wheat acreage on farms not under wheat contracts to determine whether the producer had planted wheat in excess of the larger of his 1932 and 1933 wheat acreages.

The producer's assistance was solicited in obtaining the hog production data. The compliance supervisor examined and analyzed all the data the producer had gathered together to ascertain its validity. This data included farm record books, sales receipts, weight tickets, etc. The producer and the supervisor together counted the hogs on hand. In cases where feeder pigs could not be separately identified from those produced from litters owned when farrowed, certification of compliance was not made. The hog count and all acceptable data presented were recorded.

The rules on compliance permitted an excess of hogs above allotments of 5 per cent as "an allowance for normal death losses during the remainder of 1934." One of the township committeemen, other than the supervisor, was required to certify compliance on the contract to the county allotment committee.⁵³

Compliance supervisors were required to keep a field book giving a detailed account of the work done in checking each farm and to make weekly written reports upon their work to the county allotment committee, giving the status of the compliance work upon each contract in their possession. Before the middle of September compliance work had been started throughout the State. Allotment committeemen spent some time helping the supervisors check farms and observing their work in the field during the first weeks of the compliance work. Check sheets were supplied by the State officials for standardizing the allotment committee's examination of all forms and data prepared in the field by compliance supervisors.

Each county compliance director was required to submit reports weekly to the State Compliance Director upon the

⁵³ The supervisor obtained the producer's signature upon the form for proof of compliance and also upon the certification of compliance, witnessing the signature in each case. The certification of compliance represented whether the following provisions of the contract had been violated: (1) corn acreage allotment; (2) number and use of contracted acres; (3) acreage planted to any basic commodity not in excess of acreage permitted under the contract and number of dairy cows not in excess of number permitted under the contract; (4) the farm had been operated in 1934 by the signer designated as the producer; (5) the aggregate 1934 corn acreage on all non-contracted farms owned, operated, or controlled by either signer did not exceed the acreage permitted by the contract; (6) the number of hogs from 1934 litters which had been sold or transferred plus those on hand at the time of certification did not exceed the number permitted by the contract; (7) the number of feeder pigs purchased after December 1, 1933, did not exceed the number permitted; (8) the number of hogs produced for market on non-contracted farms owned, operated, or controlled by each signer was not in excess of the number permitted; (9) all other provisions of the contract, administrative rulings, and interpretations.

work of each compliance supervisor. Supervision of the local compliance work was also maintained through field supervisors representing the State Compliance Director. They examined from 10 to 20 per cent of the proofs of compliance and related documents before the county compliance directors were allowed to forward the certifications of compliance to Washington for second payments.⁵⁴

Excess Hog Production for Relief.—In order to avoid the criticism of “killing little pigs” the Agricultural Adjustment Administration prepared an agreement with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration whereby farmers might dispose of excess pigs weighing not less than fifty pounds to the relief administration. The government did not, however, permit delivery of hogs to private relief agencies on the same basis.

When the compliance figures showed excess pigs, a form for disposition of pigs to the local public relief agency was mailed to the producer by the county committee. If the producer wished to donate these pigs to the relief administration, he was required to state the approximate number and weight of hogs to be delivered. In many counties these forms for agreements to deliver excess pigs for relief were carried by the supervisors and filled out at the time the excess was ascertained. The county allotment committees and county agents assisted the county relief officials at the time they were receiving pigs. If the farmer's receipt of hogs delivered to the relief administration covered all hogs shown on the compliance supervisor's report as production in excess of the contract allotment, no second count of hogs was necessary before certification of compliance. Smaller pigs had to be killed, if the farmer wished to get a compliance certificate.

⁵⁴ Iowa CH 265, *Compliance Check List* (Issued by the Extension Service at Ames).

Partial Compliance on Corn.—In all cases of partial compliance, due to excess corn, violations of the drought forage crop rulings, unauthorized use of contracted acres, and other violations relating to corn, both regular and partial compliance forms were prepared, with notations for items upon which there was non-compliance. The compliance supervisor who checked compliance on the farm was instructed to execute the certification of partial compliance if possible.

Detailed explanations were given by the compliance supervisor and county allotment committee for all facts and circumstances pertaining to the nature of the violations—whether they were intentional, fraudulent, due to negligence, or the result of failure in an honest effort to comply. If excess corn acreage resulted from a horizontal flat percentage reduction made in base production figures, that fact and the acreage so resulting were indicated.⁵⁵

All partial compliance forms were forwarded directly to the State Compliance Director. In his office, they were examined for accuracy and completeness and those found to be satisfactory were forwarded to the Compliance Unit of the Corn and Hogs Section for classification according to extent of violation and for determination of penalties. The State Compliance Director examined the special remarks in connection with the violations with particular

⁵⁵ In cases where the landlord was required to sign the contract because the producer was renting on a crop-share or stock-share lease and the landlord was to receive part of the benefit payments, it was possible for either the producer or landlord to be fully complying with the contract while the other was violating it in some respect. Such violations included situations where the landlord owned a farm not under contract and allowed production in excess of the contract provision for such farms. Another violation by only one of the signers was the situation when the farm was leased on a crop-share basis, corn production allotments were complied with, but the producer was out of compliance in his hog production. In cases where only one of the signers was violating the contract, the payment to the other was certified and notation that the payment to the violator was to be withheld was made on the certification.

care. If these remarks were not clearly presented, the certifications were returned to the county allotment committees for correction or clarification.⁵⁶

The local officials did not impose any penalties in cases of partial compliance; penalties for such violations were imposed by the Compliance Unit of the Corn and Hogs Section, based on the extent of the violations as reported by the county allotment committees. A general standard of penalties was formulated for the most common types of violations, but they were not inflexible and were varied to meet particular circumstances, such as fraud and intentional violation.⁵⁷

An estimate by the Compliance Unit of the Corn and Hogs Section gave 50,000 or 60,000 as the number of certifications of partial compliance for second payments on corn out of 1,200,000 contracts for the entire country, or about five per cent. In the State of Iowa there were about 6000 partial compliances on corn out of about 175,000 contracts, only a little more than three per cent.

Compliance on Non-contract Farms.—Before the first payment check was delivered, the corn-hog contract signers were required to certify whether they owned, operated, or controlled any farms not under contract. This certification was required for administration of the contract provisions in which the signer promised: (1) not to increase in 1934 the *aggregate* corn acreage on all land owned, operated, or controlled by him and not covered by contract above the average acreage for the land for 1932 and 1933; (2) not to have any vested or contingent interest in hogs located

⁵⁶ The State Compliance Director was required to retain all certifications of partial compliance in his office until most of the certifications for the State could be forwarded at one time. He accompanied the shipment of certifications by a transmittal sheet showing the number of partial compliance certificates executed in each county and forwarded to Washington.

⁵⁷ *Circular Letter, Compliance Work*, No. 6, September 6, 1934.

on land not owned or operated by him; and (3) not to increase his production of hogs in 1934 on all lands owned, operated, or controlled by him not covered by contract above his average production in 1932 and 1933.⁵⁸

Final Certification of Compliance.—The third payment made by the Secretary of Agriculture upon the corn-hog contract was conditional upon a final check of compliance. The same local compliance supervisors that had done the checking before performed the final compliance work, if they were satisfactory to the county allotment committee. They were required to execute a form for proof of compliance with the contract, giving the complete production record of the farm for the entire contract year.

A letter was mailed to each contract signer notifying him that December 1st was the date for final compliance on hogs and that, in order to receive his last benefit payment, it would be necessary that he dispose of all hogs in excess of the contract allotments before that date. He was informed that the county relief director would accept hogs to be donated for relief until December 1st, but not later. With this letter was sent the producer's copy of the proof of compliance that had been used in the first compliance check. The producer was requested to compare the hog figures on this form together with the sales made after the first check on compliance with the number of hogs on hand, in order to avoid a penalty if there was a failure to comply. He was informed that the only hogs he should

⁵⁸ The AAA officials required that no second payments be made in a county until the county allotment committee certified that all contract signer reports on the number of non-contracted farms owned, operated, or controlled had been received. If this certification showed any farms owned, operated, or controlled by the contract signer and not under contract, the Corn and Hogs Section suspended the second and third benefit payments to those signers until it could obtain certification of compliance with the terms of the contract as it related to the non-contracted farms.

have on hand on December 1, 1934, in excess of his allotment were those to be butchered for home use, and that the 5 per cent tolerance allowed by the first compliance certification for death loss prior to November 30, 1934, must be absorbed by this time either by deaths or by delivery to the relief administration.

Half-day training schools were conducted in each county by Extension field men to give instructions to compliance supervisors upon the methods to be used in checking final compliance with the contracts. Most of these were held just before December 1, 1934. As soon as the school had been held in a county, the compliance supervisors began the work of making the final check on compliance with the 1934 contracts. The supervisor counted all hogs on the farm and adjusted the count to December 1, 1934, taking into account all farrowings, deaths, purchases, and sales after that date. This count was checked with the total of the respective classes of hogs that should have been on hand at that time according to the neighbors' count, sales, purchases, deaths, farrowings, etc. This count was also to be used as the inventory at the beginning of the 1935 corn-hog program. All purchases and sales of hogs, according to the farm records and accompanying evidence, between the date of first compliance check and November 1, 1934, were listed in detail upon the proof of final compliance.

Evidence of hog sales was not required to be delivered to the allotment committee, but compliance supervisors reviewed it carefully for validity. Many of the producers supplied much of the information direct from farm record books furnished in connection with the corn-hog program.

The only examination of corn acreage was a check of acreage planted pursuant to the drought rulings to see whether it had been cut for forage before ears developed.

If it had not, it was added to the acreage planted for grain and silage. If this sum exceeded the contract allotment and the final (second) corn payment had already been made, the form for partial compliance was executed and the officials required a refund on the payment made to the farmer in excess of compliance.

In cases where the last check of compliance showed violation of the provisions of the contract, a final certification of partial compliance was executed.⁵⁹ The regular certification of compliance was executed in connection with this form and the items upon which violations occurred were deleted. In Iowa these final certifications of partial compliance numbered about 400, referring exclusively to hogs. Thus Iowa farmers failed to comply with their hog production allotments in only about two-tenths of one per cent of the contracts.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE CORN-HOG PROGRAM

An evaluation of the economic effect of the 1934 corn-hog program is a particularly complex problem; many factors influence corn and hog production and prices in varying degrees. That corn and hog prices rose rapidly in 1934 is obvious. During the twelve-month period the farm price of hogs rose from \$3.06 to \$5.15 per hundred pounds and the farm price of corn from 43.9 to 85.3 cents per bushel. The December price of corn was the highest of the year. Hog prices made a sudden jump of nearly

⁵⁹ The following items were listed on the final certification of partial compliance: (1) number of hogs produced in 1934 and number by which this exceeded the allotment; (2) number of hogs purchased in 1934 and number by which this exceeded the allotment; (3) number of hogs produced in 1934 in excess of allotments on farms owned, operated, or controlled by the contract signer if they were within the county and not under contract; (4) number of hogs purchased in 1934 in excess of allotments on non-contracted farms owned, operated, or controlled by the signer if all such farms were within the county; (5) any other violations.

\$1.50 from August to September, reaching \$6.04, but returned to \$5.20 in October. These prices do not include any of the benefit payments received by farmers.

In the case of corn the price progressed steadily toward the fair exchange value calculated by the administration. During the year this value increased from 68.9 cents in January to 90.3 cents in September and declined from that point to 80.9 in November and December. The farm price of corn, however, showed a steady progression toward the desired price level, which varied according to the prices of all farm and industrial commodities. The farm price of hogs was a much higher percentage of the fair exchange value in December than in the preceding January, but reached the amount nearest fair exchange value at the time of the sudden rise of hog prices in August.⁶⁰

The total corn production in Iowa in 1932 was 509,507,000 bushels and in 1933 455,000,000 bushels, but the 1934 Iowa corn crop (on the 8,760,000 acres harvested) was only 201,480,000 bushels.⁶¹ In spite of this small production the 1934 corn crop far exceeded the crops of the two preceding years in total value. The price received by Iowa farmers for corn on December 1, 1934, was 80 cents per bushel, as compared to 31 cents per bushel in 1933 and 12 cents per bushel in 1932. On the basis of these prices the total value of the Iowa corn crop in 1934 was \$161,184,000⁶² as com-

⁶⁰ Data taken from Tables 1 and 2, C.H.-113, *Corn Hog Adjustment* (January, 1935, Agricultural Adjustment Administration), p. 2. These figures do not include adjustments for the processing tax as some statistics do.

⁶¹ *Crops and Markets* (U. S. Department of Agriculture), December, 1934, p. 467.

⁶² A large amount of the corn from the 1934 crop was not good quality and therefore not worth 80 cents per bushel cash at markets, but was valuable as feed. Furthermore, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration paid about \$30,000,000 to Iowa farmers for corn acreage taken out of production. On these bases it is not unreasonable to calculate the total income from Iowa corn production at approximately \$175,000,000.

pared with \$141,050,000 for the 1933 crop and \$61,141,000 for 1932.

In addition to the reduction program, the drought made it necessary for large numbers of farmers to sell breeding stock and to market hogs before they were finished. Consequently the number of hogs on farms on December 1, 1934, was very small in comparison with preceding years — only 6,272,000, 58 per cent of the 10,813,000 hogs on Iowa farms on December 1, 1933, and 56.3 of the 11,140,000 on farms on December 1, 1932. Based upon prices received by Iowa farmers on December 15, 1933, for hogs per hundred pounds at \$2.70, the hogs on Iowa farms that year were valued at \$50,821,000. At the December 15, 1934, price of \$5.10, the hogs on Iowa farms that year were valued at \$55,820,000. At these prices the small crop of 1934 was worth \$5,000,000 more than the crop of 1933.

The most valuable figures on income from hog production during the year 1934 are based upon the marketings of hogs during the year. Upon the basis of hog marketings for the year the value of Iowa hog production in 1934 was \$117,335,000 as compared with \$98,205,000 in 1933 and \$94,275,000 in 1932.⁶³ When the hogs purchased in the Emergency Buying Campaign are included in the 1933 figure, it becomes \$101,775,000. There is, however, adequate reason to include hog benefit payments in the 1934 income and value of production of hogs. If this is done, the value of 1934 Iowa hog production becomes \$160,135,000, a figure comparable with the 1931 value of production at \$184,472,000 but still far below the value of preceding years.⁶⁴

Along with higher gross receipts for the smaller corn

⁶³ The average weight of hogs marketed for the year was adjusted to 220 pounds because of the effect of the drought upon marketings. The normal weighted average weight of hogs marketed is about 240 pounds.

⁶⁴ See the *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1933, p. 606, 1934, p. 601.

and hog production of 1934 the Iowa farm income in 1934 was significantly enlarged by the benefit payments in the corn-hog program. The total benefit payments to Iowa farmers for the 1935 program reached about \$73,000,000 — about \$43,000,000 for hog payments and about \$30,000,000 for corn land rental. The hog payments were financed from the processing tax on pork; the corn rental came chiefly from appropriations.

The processing tax in itself does not affect the income of the farmer who signs a corn-hog contract if it is all returned to him in the form of benefit payments; he merely receives what he would have received had the price of hogs been determined by the same supply and demand factors and the processing tax not been levied. The processor, it is claimed, merely reduces his bids for live hogs sufficiently beneath the retail price to increase his margin by the amount of the tax. To the extent that the benefit payments received by farmers in 1934 came from general appropriations and exceeded the processing taxes they constituted an addition to the farmer's gross income. Non-participating farmers profited by the higher prices, but did not receive the benefit payments nor could they take advantage of the forty-five cent per bushel corn loans. They were not, however, restricted as to corn acreage and hog production.

Importance of Educational Work.— The educational program stimulated discussion of economic principles, especially with regard to foreign trade, supply and demand, and production adjustment. Educational meetings often became open forums for discussion of agricultural economics and administrative procedure. Administration speakers attempted to inculcate an understanding of the nature and solution of problems confronting all farmers.

The educational technique of open farm meetings for discussion of economic problems became an integral phase of the local corn-hog administration. In many cases solutions for problems emerged from the discussions in the township meetings. Ideas that might mean improvements in the program were taken from the township meeting by the township chairman to the meeting where the township committee chairmen convened as the control association board of directors. They were presented again and if they finally survived the tests of opposition born of prejudice, disinterested analysis, and common-sense discussion, they were presented to the State Committee, the Extension Service, or the Board of Review, finally to be carried to Washington for consideration.

The 1934 corn-hog program also gave farmers a fundamental insight into the limits and possible effectiveness of public administration. Even if the principle of production adjustment is abandoned, farmers in the Corn-Belt townships will profit from the experience in governmental administration and the knowledge of the problems of the agricultural community which they gained in the administration of the corn-hog program. These farmers will assume the responsibility for drafting and supporting other measures, possibly incorporating new administrative techniques. They will realize the practical value of relying upon the participant in the program for his coöperation in order to achieve efficiency and economic purposes without bureaucratic regimentation.

In these interpretations of the 1934 program reside the main principles of economic democracy: (1) that each group assume responsibility for its own welfare, acting as a unit to obtain a fair return for labor and investment; (2) that governmental research and statistical agencies supply the facts of economics for the guidance of the

several groups in taking political action; and (3) that administrative discretion as well as the legislative and judicial processes operate to coördinate the functions of the several groups, making minority domination within a group or domination of the whole economic system by one group impossible.

RICHARD H. ROBERTS

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

A PIONEER SCHOOL TEACHER IN CENTRAL IOWA

ALICE MONEY LAWRENCE

An old-fashioned school bell and six teacher's certificates are mementos of the achievement of an ambition—the ambition of Alice Money to be a teacher. The tone of the bell is as strong as when it rang out from the schoolroom door more than sixty years ago. The writing on the certificates is as clear and plain as when she showed them proudly to inquiring school directors.

Alice Money was born in Milton, Berkshire, England, on November 26, 1848. Her parents, George and Catherine Chambers Money, emigrated to America in 1850, coming to Cleveland, Ohio, where the mother died a few weeks after their arrival. The father was without work or friends and could not care for his little daughter, Alice, and her older sister, Sarah, so the two little girls were taken into the homes of strangers, though not legally adopted. A few years later George Money remarried, and in 1862 he decided to move to Iowa. The two girls, then fourteen and sixteen years of age, were given their choice of staying in Ohio with their foster parents or going with their father into the new country. Sarah was learning to play the melodeon and had a beau. There would be no music teacher in Iowa—possibly no beau. So Sarah stayed in Ohio. Alice was of a different type. She had courage and initiative and the idea of pioneering appealed to her. She was ready and willing, even eager, to go. Her situation had not been entirely happy and the prospect of being with the father whom she adored fulfilled her childhood dreams. Alice went to Iowa.

The journey westward must have been a series of thrilling adventures to the young girl. There was the novelty of the railroad train, the exciting change at Chicago, the crossing of the mighty Mississippi, the never-ending expanse of Iowa prairies, and finally the stop at Belle Plaine, the end of the railroad. From this point they travelled north and west by wagon, a slow journey with frequent stops, until they reached their destination on Wolf Creek in the southern part of Grundy County. The family lived in a small log house on a neighbor's property until their own home could be built. The new house, a substantial two-story frame structure, very large and commodious for the time, was erected in 1863 and is in a good state of preservation. It is located a half mile east of the village of Beaman. The woodland which surrounded it in the early day is gone; the orchard, planted and tended with care and yielding bountifully for many years, is gone; every member of the Money family — father, mother, sons, and daughters — all are gone. But the old house remains — a mute reminder of the pioneer days.

Shortly after her arrival in the new country, Alice wrote a letter to her sister. It is the first of a long series of letters to Sarah from which this story has been largely compiled. In this first letter she wrote:

And now I must tell you something about the beauty of our country. Iowa has been noted for hard winters and high winds, but this winter has been remarkably pleasant. It has been one continuous spring, accompanied by pleasant showers and soft winds. We are perplexed a little at times by an excess of mud which might be expected in any country during such weather. I have been wishing that it might get colder and snow for we have had no snow to amount to anything this winter.

Now I must tell you about our beautiful scenery, which, if you could behold, would send a thrill of rapture through your musical soul and reflect a halo of grandness over your day dreams not soon

to be erased from the tablet of your memory. Our farm is situated on a high rolling prairie and as we stand upon the ground where the house is to be built, we can see far, far in the northwest the big woods of Eldora, some fifteen miles away. Six miles to the west may be seen the little village of Albion with its tall College spire and beautiful white dwellings glistening in the sunlight. On the south of us, twenty five miles distant and across the Iowa river, is the town of Marshall. The tall brick buildings and tin roofs glittering like an ocean of fire at mid-day can be seen above the tree-tops. As to the east — how can I find words to convey the ecstasy of delight which I experience as I gaze far, far down the valley of the Iowa river, skirted on either side by broad belts of timber and numerous little groves in all directions. The farm dwellings, hundred acre corn fields and running brooks are all attractive to the eye. When you visit our country and roam over the prairie on a bright summer day as I have done — when you feel the gentle breeze fan your brow as I have felt it — then and not till then will you realize the beauty of our new home, excuse all mistakes and please write often.

Your sister, Alice Money.

There are few mistakes in this flowery epistle, but one wonders if the literary style were not acquired from the Cary sisters, or the essays in the *Ladies Repository*. It seems hardly possible that the “ocean of tin roofs” at Marshalltown was visible except to the eye of imagination, but youth can see far! However, the wooded valleys, the sweep of cornfield and prairie were all there and she could not exaggerate their beauty.

There was hard work to be done and little time for the enjoyment of nature. The young girl took her place in the household as seamstress, nurse girl, and general helper. She could sew and her step-mother could not, so the family garments were made by Alice. There was a Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine in the home, one of the first models, which made a noise like a threshing machine and ran almost as hard. It is appalling to think of the mileage she

must have treadled out on it. No wonder she suffered with back-ache all her life. Muslin undergarments for the women and girls, with yards of ruffles and tucks, calico dresses lined and trimmed with more ruffles, tucks, and bias bindings, shirts for the boys and men, and suits for the boys — all came from the whirring Wheeler and Wilson machine. There were no modern “attachments” to this machine, and the young girl toiled constantly and patiently at her never-ending task.

But as she sewed or washed dishes, tended sheep or babies, she had one secret ambition — to get an education so that she could teach school. It did not require much of an education in those days, just a knowledge of the “three R’s”, a little geography, and less history, in order to pass the simple examinations for a “certificate”. These tests were given at the county seat by a committee or by the county superintendent and were mainly oral. But even this meager preparation seemed impossible. She went to the country school in winter except on wash days or when there was sickness in the family. But the summer term — that was out of the question. There was too much work on a big farm and with a rapidly increasing family. She was plucky, however, and never gave up.

Finally a way opened for her to earn the money for tuition for a term at Albion Seminary. Her father had five hundred sheep and the man who was to have tended them was taken sick. Alice was offered the job at a dollar and a half a week and eagerly accepted it.

On November 19, 1865, Alice wrote to her sister :

I’ve watched sheep for two months with my horse, dog, and schoolbooks, and such a time as I have had you never saw. One day I was riding through the woods reading and a limb of a big tree knocked me off! I jumped up and climbed on again, determined to be more careful. My horse jumped great big logs, streams, gullies,

anything that came in her way. The reins were so short that when she put her head down to eat grass I had to get off to get hold again, so I put my foot through them. That worked all right until I got so interested studying that I was not paying attention. Suddenly I heard someone laugh and there were two great boys looking at me! My foot had slipped over on the other side, and shocking to tell, I was astride the horse! You better believe my foot got back in a hurry. I was so mortified!

A few days later I was in a field and got off to let down the bars of the gate when the horse jumped the fence and galloped off down the road. It commenced to rain just then and the Shepherdess got wet through, but had to drive her sheep home the best way she could.

One morning the sheep got in the corn. The dog was at home and I tried in vain to get them out without him. I started after him and the horse was galloping along when she stumbled and I turned a complete somersault over her head. There were three men working near and they all ran to help me, but I was on my horse again and galloped off before they got there. I was so provoked! The idea of keeling off that horse right where they could see me! I got home and got the dog and a fresh horse and went back after those sheep. You may be sure they did not stay in that corn field long.

There was a term at Albion Seminary and then the long looked for teacher's certificate, issued at Marshalltown, on March 31, 1866.

"Office of County Superintendent of Common Schools. This is to certify that the bearer, Miss A. Money, has been thoroughly examined in the following branches, to-wit: Orthography, Penmanship, Reading, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmetic. The references presented give evidence of a good moral character, etc. etc. Signed by C. H. Shaw, Co. Supt."

This certificate, as well as others later issued at Marshalltown, bears a picture portraying the famous incident when Bacon entered his study and found that his little dog had destroyed the results of many years of scientific inves-

tigation. Bacon stands with one hand pointing to the littered table and the other toward the playful dog, his face showing an admirable mixture of pity, compassion, and self-control. Just why this should embellish a teacher's certificate is not apparent unless the lesson of patience with the dumb was to be impressed on the aspiring pedagogue.

In spite of the steel engraved document and the flourishes on the signature of the county superintendent, "Miss A. Money" did not get a school at once. Schools were not located at every section corner then and March was late to engage a summer term.

On July 17, 1866, Alice wrote to her sister: "You ask me if I was disappointed because I could not get a school this term. Yes, some, but it is next to impossible for me to get the blues. I tried the other day, but I couldn't keep my face straight long enough!"

There was another summer of hard work and good times. Girls were scarce and beaux plenty. The young men returning from the war were eager for the society of a pretty girl. "Had a very polite invitation to go a Fourthing", she wrote, "but said 'no'. I have had three beaux and I am through with men!" She was seventeen!

In the winter of 1867 came the high adventure of school in Marshalltown at Marshall Seminary. This was life! To be sure she worked for her board and worked hard, doing almost as much sewing as she had done at home, besides cooking for a large family while the mistress went to Ohio on a six weeks visit. But all that was nothing, for she accepted hard work as part of her life. To offset this came great advantages: church in town (real church, not meeting); fascinating stores; her first real concert by a traveling "Opera Company"; her first lecture, by "Grace Greenwood".

And above all, the Seminary! Four teachers — profes-

sors — offered a full course each — Classical, Normal, Literary, and Commercial. The merits of the school were set forth in a one page prospectus which informed inquiring students that the institution “is located in the pleasant and thriving village of Marshalltown, noted for the rapidity of its growth and the industry and morality of its people”. Board “in good families” was offered for \$2.50 per week and tuition was seven dollars per term. The four terms were short and the yearly tuition was, therefore, \$28.00. The principal, one Thomas J. Wilson, has, said this ambitious prospectus, “frequent opportunities of assisting teachers to obtain situations at salaries as high as one hundred and twenty dollars a month!” There is something in this extravagant publicity vaguely familiar to the present day reader.

The social life of Marshall Seminary centered in the Athanaean Literary Society to which all students belonged. Here debates were held, poetry and essays were read, and a weekly newspaper (in long hand) was produced. The Athanaeans took themselves very seriously, and upon her departure, they issued to Alice an elaborately printed and marvelously worded demit, stating that she could re-enter the society at any time she returned to the school.

She was popular in the Seminary and had much attention from the young men, one of her beaux being a member of the faculty. It was the custom to repeat verses of Scripture during the morning chapel exercises. One morning a swain who had been rejected by the pretty Miss Money arose and recited with great solemnity, “The love of Money is the root of all evil!”

One winter evening a party of students drove eight miles to Albion to an entertainment given by the school there. Most of the crowd went together in a bob sled, but Alice’s young man had procured a small sleigh and took her in

style. When they arrived at the school building they assembled to enter in a group. The visitors had to climb over the fence by means of a stile and Alice's hoop skirt caught on the fence post. She slipped and fell sprawling into the snow drift, hanging by the hoop skirt wire. Her beau hastened to the rescue but got his foot entangled in the hoop skirt also. Their friends disentangled the embarrassed pair but the ridiculous incident was not soon forgotten in the seminary life.

In March, 1867, Alice secured another teacher's certificate in Marshall County, history being added to the list of studies acquired and a few more flourishes to the signature of the county superintendent. The following month, she received a third certificate, this one entitling her to teach in Grundy County. The list of studies listed on this document were Orthography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, and United States History. The Grundy County certificates, it may be noted, were not graded, while those granted by Marshall County were of first, second, third, and fourth grades, according to the examination. This Grundy County certificate was embellished by the Iowa State seal — a picture of a Union soldier in full uniform, holding a sword in his left hand while he waves a flag with the right. He is standing beside a plough while in the background is seen a log cabin, a partially cut field of grain, with rake and scythe lying before it. In the distance is a steamboat throwing out a vast cloud of very black smoke. Above all this is an eagle bearing a floating banner on which is inscribed, "Our liberties we prize, our rights we will maintain." The certificate issued by Grundy County in 1869 bore a picture of an eagle perched upon a shield, the soldier having presumably doffed his uniform and gone back to work. This later document is graded but has the same list of studies. Teachers' certificates were not

transferable from one county to another; one must be examined in the county in which the prospective school was located. Examination must be taken every six months and a new certificate issued.

Alice Money's first school was in Grundy County, sixteen miles from her home, and to secure it she rode forty-five miles on horseback. It was customary to visit each of the school directors or trustees and they often lived miles apart. Then a boarding place must be found and the schoolhouse visited to see what need be done before school opened. The schoolmistress was her own janitor in those days. Some amusing incidents occurred as she made these visits to the officials. She called at the home of an elderly English couple and while waiting for the man of the house to come in from work she politely engaged the wife in conversation, commenting on the hard work the woman had been doing. "Yes", the woman replied wearily, "The Good Book says there's no rest for the wicked, but I tells feyther there's none for the righteous nuther, for him an' me has allus worked hard!"

She arrived at one home at noon and, according to the custom of the country, was invited to dinner. A large family, with several hired men, were seated at the long table. A huge platter of fried ham was placed before the host. He picked up each piece on his fork and, using his knife as a propelling force, fired it deftly at the plates in turn. Alice held her breath, for she had on her best dress, a cherished sprigged delaine, and she had visions of a grease spot on the front. Her concern was unnecessary for the farmer's aim was sure, no doubt from long practice, and the ham landed safely on her plate.

Her first salary was twenty-five dollars a month—above the average wage paid teachers at that time. There were, however, many drawbacks to the situation. The

neighborhood was sparsely settled and she had only twelve pupils, five of whom left school when harvest began. Her boarding place was poor; the woman could not cook and the house was dirty and uncomfortable. The breakfast every morning consisted of soggy bread and eggs fried in lard. She could not eat the egg which always appeared on her plate and the small boy at her side always asked, "School-ma'am, kin I have your aig?" Needless to say, he got it. She stayed in the schoolhouse as much as possible, writing long letters to her sister, reading the few books she owned and old copies of the *Ladies Repository*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, and *Peterson's Magazine*. In a letter written to her sister while teaching in this school, Alice wrote:

Oh, Sarah, I wish you could be with me this morning, the prairies are so beautiful. They are covered with the sweetest wild roses and other flowers of every description, as pretty as the tame flowers in your garden. You ask if I like teaching. Oh, yes, the teaching part but not the discipline. I had to keep all my scholars but one in at recess today, and I had to whip one boy — the first punishment of that kind that has been necessary. Then it is so hard not to like some children better than others, and there are so many little disputes to settle. But I do like teaching.

From her schoolroom windows she could see prairies as far as the eye could reach, broken only by winding streams with heavily wooded banks. Cultivated fields were widely scattered and farmhouses were few and far between. It was, indeed, a new country, but an attractive one. One who has never seen unbroken prairie can hardly realize its beauty. Gently rolling in every direction, dappled in sun and shade as clouds passed over, gay with wild flowers and odorous with their fragrance and with the spicy tang of wild grasses — it was like a great sea of green touched with bright color.

One happy incident broke the monotony of lonely days.

Her friend, Mary Stevens, had secured a school six miles away and the girls had planned to be together occasionally during the summer term. This had not been so easy to do and they had not met since school began two months before. One Friday afternoon Alice finished sweeping the school-room, threw the day's accumulation of slate rags and spit balls into the stove with a grimace on her pretty face, emptied the water pail outside the door, picked up her dinner pail, and closed the door with a sigh. It was not altogether a sigh of relief because school was over for another week — no, the sigh was for the dismal outlook of Saturday and Sunday.

“I suppose I shall sleep most of tomorrow and Sunday just as I always do”, she may have said to herself as she turned homeward. “If they had a single book or magazine or newspaper — anything but that fly-specked almanac! I’ve read everything I have over and over, written letters to everybody, crocheted all my thread and knit all my wool — there isn’t a thing to mend and no goods to make up. What’s the good of being eighteen and just longing for fun and good times and young folks to run around with when here I am cooped up in this school miles from everywhere. I do wish I could see Mary Stevens once in awhile. She is so interesting and so jolly — we could have such good times!”

It was some satisfaction to be able to talk to one’s self if there were no better company and Alice continued to do so as she walked slowly down the hill toward the bare, unshaded, and unattractive farmhouse which was her boarding place. Suddenly she saw something which almost made her drop her dinner pail and books. A young woman came out of the house and ran lightly down the path toward the road, waving, and calling “Alice! Oh, Alice!”

How they chattered, just as two young women would do

today after a separation. Mary Stevens (who later became Mrs. Delos G. Wescott) was from Wisconsin but had lived several years in the south before the war. Her life had been full of excitement and adventure and Alice loved to hear her tell of her experiences. Their friendship continued for a lifetime as after marriage they lived in the same community.

The usual supper of fried potatoes, heavy bread, and weak tea was soon over and the girls had walked down toward the creek through a fine oak grove, when Mary exclaimed, "Alice! Why can't you come home with me for over Sunday? We can go to meeting in Grundy Center on Sunday and Sunday afternoon some of the young folks always drop in. Mrs. Brown plays on her melodeon and we sing hymns and have such good times. It will do you a world of good."

Alice was eager to go, but it was six miles to Mary's boarding house — a long walk to make before school time on Monday. But Mary was not to be thwarted by obstacles. They could, she suggested, borrow a horse and take turns riding horseback. Alice hesitated. They could borrow one of the farmer's horses, she knew, but the only one broken to ride was the three year old which had never had a woman on his back. They would have to ride bareback and astride. "If any of my school trustees saw me riding that way", she told her friend, "I'd lose my job — and you would be in the same fix. Besides, the horse wouldn't carry double."

But Mary was not to be disappointed. They could, she insisted, take turns riding, and if they met anyone, the one who was riding could get off and lead the horse.

The result was that the girls got the "three year old" and started early the next morning, Mary riding for the first lap of the journey while Alice walked. Alice carried a

bundle containing her new brown and white striped calico dress and her straw bonnet trimmed with corn colored ribbons. Mary said she had an extra pair of hoops that could be shortened for her friend. Carrying a hoopskirt would have been unhandy, to say the least!

It was a delightful summer morning, that tenth day of August, 1867. The girls enjoyed the beauty of the country through which they rode and walked, with its contrasts of prairie, farms, and woodland. On some of the few cultivated fields the corn was growing sturdy and tall and on others the yellow stubble and great golden straw stacks showed that the wheat harvest was over. As they crossed a rude bridge over one of the winding streams they saw wild grape vines hanging low over the water, heavy with great clusters of tiny green grapes — later to become stores of spicy sweetness. Along the creeks were thickets of wild plum trees, the fruit like hard green marbles at this time. Autumn would find these plums stored in barrels by the pioneer housewives, to be made into pies or stewed with molasses for winter use. Elderberries were ripening on the edge of the woods and foreshadowed a delicacy — elderberry pie! Orchards were yet in their infancy and currants and raspberries had not grown to bearing so that every variety of wild fruit was eagerly gathered and used. As the girls journeyed on they talked of many things: the beauty of the new country which had never grown commonplace to them, their hopes and plans, their love affairs, their school work, and their common experiences at teachers' institutes and teachers' examinations.

Mary recalled the time the "smart committee man" put the sentence on the board for the applicants for teachers' certificates to parse and mis-spelled four out of the ten words.

Alice laughed. "He thought he was so smart", she said,

and he wrote with an air of saying, 'There's something that will hold you awhile, young folks!' "

Two young teachers were certain to "talk shop" at least occasionally, and Mary asked, "Have you tried teaching the new way of parsing with diagrams? I think it is so interesting and so much easier to understand."

"Oh, Mary", lamented Alice, "I haven't a single pupil that far along. I did hope there might be some more advanced scholars among those who started after harvest but their school has been so irregular up here that they are all backward."

In the course of two hours the two girls reached Mary's boarding place. They had met no other travellers and had ridden the "three year old" astride without discovery. Mrs. Brown gave Alice a hearty welcome and she enjoyed every minute of her stay. On Sunday the whole family went in the farm wagon to "meeting" at Grundy Center. The simple service, the hearty hymn singing, and the friendly attitude of the worshippers toward each other and to her as a visitor became a happy memory of after years. The bright-eyed young girl in her brown calico and corn colored ribbons made an attractive picture as she sat with her friends.

In the afternoon and evening the young folks of the neighborhood came on horseback and in wagons and spent the time visiting and singing together. On Monday morning Alice mounted the borrowed horse and set out at six o'clock for her school, riding astride, ready at a minute's warning to slip off her steed and walk.

After this pleasant interlude, school did not seem so tiresome and she saw her friends frequently. She was offered the winter term at the large salary of thirty dollars a month and accepted. This time she found a better boarding place. At the close of the term she wrote: "School is

over for another term and this winter has been very pleasant. Just think, in the four months I have been home twice! Isn't that wonderful?" Home was sixteen miles away!

She taught in the summer of 1868 in the home school called the Wolf Grove District. It was a more thickly settled region and she had forty pupils. One can see the little school mistress with her own brothers and sisters, some of whom were taller than she, as they went their pleasant way to school. It was a short walk, down the long lane from the house, between the new orchard and the woodland pasture, past the big oak grove where the Fourth of July celebrations and Sunday School picnics were held, then down a little hill and over a tiny stream, one of those clear streams with pebbly bottom, so rare in Iowa. Vehicles and horseback riders forded the creek, but there were great stepping stones for foot passengers. Then up the hill by the graveyard at the right. This was no place of gloom or fear—the children often played quietly around the moss covered graves where the acorns dropped from the great oaks that sheltered the spot. Ferns grew here and wild strawberries. The few tombstones were small—ornamented often with a crudely sculptured lamb for a child's grave or a cross and crown for an older person. The oaks are now replaced by evergreens and the moss and ferns by close cropped turf. It is the "Beaman Cemetery", not the "Graveyard" of the old time. Tall monuments and massive blocks of granite bear strange names, but one who looks closely may find the names of the old pioneer families: Money, Wells, Loverin, Beaman, Goodrich, and many others. It is a fine modern cemetery, but to some of us who remember, the burial ground in the woods had greater beauty.

On a little rise beyond this spot stood the schoolhouse,

used also as a meeting house. Here Alice had gone to school, when there was no work or company or sickness at home, here her favorite teacher, Sarah Loverin, had helped and encouraged her.

In the summer of 1869, she was the "Little Schoolma'am" as they called her, in District Number Six, Vienna Township, Marshall County. Although, at various times, Alice Money held four certificates issued in Marshall County, this was the only time she taught there. It was difficult to get a school in that county, probably because the seminaries at Marshalltown and Albion supplied many teachers. District Number Six had a "hard name" due to a gang of big boys who made trouble. Several men teachers had met with defeat at their hands and one or two had resigned in the middle of the term. The school directors hesitated long before giving the place to a young woman of Alice's slight physique. She was five feet one inch in height and weighed a trifle over a hundred pounds. Short curly hair added to her girlish appearance. Her hair had been cut after a fever when she was fifteen and she had worn it short ever since, despite the fashion. But she held a good certificate and her record in Grundy County was excellent, so she got the school, though the directors shook their heads over what might happen when the "big boys" saw her.

She kept a very complete journal during this time, but only two references are made to any serious school difficulties. One day a woman came to visit the school (and find fault with the teacher), and stayed all day. "At recess the boys got to fighting and had to be brought in", she wrote in her journal. "I was so mortified to think this must happen when we had a visitor — especially one who came to see what she could see and talk about it afterward."

One June morning the ring leader of the "gang" arrived. He had been kept out of school until then to plough corn. The morning passed quietly — he was evidently sizing her up and waiting until opportunity arrived to show his power. In the afternoon, as she was walking down the aisle, he made a remark to her under his breath. It was not only impertinent, but indecent. She made no response and passed on, but as she returned she caught him off his guard, pushed him forward into the aisle, and spanked him soundly with his geography. The whole school laughed — his chums laughed loudest of all. She ordered him to leave the room and go home and the big fellow, with face red as a beet, slunk out and up the road. When his father heard the story from the younger children the gang leader received another punishment and this time it was not with a geography. The next morning Alice found the school-room swept and put in order. The big boys were playing ball back of the schoolhouse and looked embarrassed when she thanked them. It was their tribute to the "Little School-ma'am", who never had to sweep the room or fill the water pail again while the term lasted.

The schoolhouse at "Number Six" was built on the usual pattern of the time — a parallelogram with two or three windows on each side and a vestibule partitioned off in front. On each side of this entry were nails or hooks for wraps and a shelf or bench beneath for dinner pails. Those dinner pails! Lift the lid and a mingling of characteristic odors arose. The smell of bread, pickles, cheese, pie, doughnuts — all the lunches of the past combined with the present in an indescribable mixture. No spinach, carrots, or orange juice for the youngster of the sixties, nor any knowledge of vitamins or calories for his elders. The contents of a dinner pail of that period would make a modern dietitian faint! But the young pioneer stomach

was strong, and much outdoor exercise and hard work produced a digestion that could cope with anything. Food was traded — a doughnut for a fat pickle, a dried apple turnover for a chicken drumstick. Lunches might be shared or eaten in solitude. The child whose dinner pail held salt pork, corn bread, and cold potatoes, was likely to slip behind the schoolhouse and eat his meal furtively, while the favored ones who brought goodies liked to boast and display them.

The water pail was kept on a bench in the corner of the schoolroom near the door. A dipper hung with it. When thirst assailed a pupil he waved his arm, obtained permission to “go-fer-a-drink?”, and went to the pail, drank from the dipper and returned it to the water. Germs must have flourished, yet the evil results were not more apparent than in our hygienic days.

The teacher’s desk was on a platform at the end of the schoolroom, usually nearest the door. The heating stove was in the middle of the room and the heavy crude desks were arranged without regard for lighting facilities. If one’s desk were placed so as to face the light, one faced it and that, as we say today, was that. In a space left vacant between the front desks and the teacher’s platform the classes stood to recite. In the older school buildings the beginners sat on a backless bench near the teacher. Poor little tired backs.

The subjects taught were: reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, geography — all facts, facts. As the teacher must know facts to pass her examinations so she must teach facts to her pupils. She had no equipment save a small homemade blackboard. Slates were used by all the pupils, with much scratching of slate pencils! Text-books were various — Webster’s spelling-book, McGuffey’s readers, Bullion’s grammar, etc. They had come from

Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, or perhaps from Pennsylvania. What was good enough for father and mother had to be good enough for Bill and Jim and Susie. The multiplication table was sung, so were the States and their capitals. Pass any country schoolhouse in the sixties or seventies and one might hear, "State of Maine, Augu-us-ta, Massachusetts, Spring-field", to the tune of Yankee Doodle!

There were two terms of school each year — winter and summer — averaging four months each, the two vacations occurring when pupils were most needed at home. Crops governed Iowa then as now, but in a different way. In pioneer days the entire family had to help prepare the ground and sow the seed as well as tend and harvest the crop. Boys ploughed when their hands barely reached the plough handles, and no child was too small to "drop corn" or plant potatoes. The summer term began when the "crops were in", and the winter term commenced after corn picking. There was no uniformity in beginning or closing school, as each district decided that for their own convenience.

The last day of school brought the young teacher's scrap-book into use. This scrap-book, still intact, contains poems of all kinds, the melancholy verse of the Cary sisters, the poems of Whittier and Longfellow as they appeared in the newspapers, sketches of the great men of the time, the account of Lincoln's assassination — a picture of the times, literary and historical. The pupils learned poems and recited them with zeal; they gave dialogues, the same ones over and over; they spelled down; and the trustees made speeches. It was a great day.

Finally came the last day of school for Alice, not only in Number Six, Vienna Township, but as a teacher. On July 23, 1869, she closed her school and her teaching career. While teaching in this district she had met a

pioneer physician — Dr. Elmer Y. Lawrence. They became engaged in the summer of 1869 and were married on June 5, 1870. Women's clothing was still voluminous and the first item in Alice Money's trousseau, as carefully recorded in her journal, was "forty yards of muslin".

The Lawrences lived in the Badger Hill community, twenty miles north of Marshalltown for many years, and Alice Money Lawrence displayed as a doctor's wife and as a mother and neighbor the same sterling qualities that had made her a successful teacher. She lived a long and useful life and died in Omaha, Nebraska, on October 23, 1925. Dr. Lawrence had died on July 25, 1912. They are both buried in the cemetery at York, Nebraska, but their names are inscribed on the Lawrence monument in Badger Hill Cemetery near Gladbrook, Iowa, in the community where they lived and worked and where their influence is still felt.

Alice Money knew nothing of child psychology, yet she knew how to keep her pupils interested and how to make them behave; she knew nothing of higher mathematics, but she implanted the multiplication table so firmly that no strain and stress of after years could disturb it; she had no training in English or dramatics, but her pupils learned long poems and recited them clearly and well and remembered them through after years. She taught facts, but they were useful facts, suited to the needs of the day, and she did her part in establishing the educational system of Iowa and the Middle West.

FLOY LAWRENCE EMMHOFF

LONGMONT
COLORADO

¹ A sketch of the life of Dr. Elmer Yocum Lawrence, also by Mrs. Floy Lawrence Emhoff, was printed in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, October, 1933.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The County in the United States, by John W. Manning, reprinted from the *Southwest Review*, Spring, 1935, contains an interesting comparison of county costs.

Basic Cultures of the Mississippi Valley, by Thorne Deuel; and *Some Notes on Winnebago Social and Political Organization*, by Truman Michelson, are two of the articles in the July-September issue of the *American Anthropologist*.

Franklin, the Unrecognized Commonwealth, by Orra Eugene Monnette; and *Early Phases of the History of the State of Washington*, by Lloyd Spencer and Lancaster Pollard, are articles of interest in western history which appear in *Americana* for July.

The *Augustana Historical Society Publications*, Number 4, contains *Early Life of Eric Norelius (1833-1862): Journal of a Swedish Immigrant in the Middle West*, translated by Emeroy Johnson. Norelius spent some time in Moline, Illinois, and lived for a number of years in Minnesota.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for July contains the following articles: *Attitudes Toward Missouri Speech*, by Allen Walker Read; *The Exclusive Trade Privilege of Maxent LaCledé and Company*, by John Francis McDermott, and *The Development of Fiction on the Missouri Frontier (1830-1860)* (Pt. VI), by Carle Brooks Spotts.

The July issue of *Mid-America* contains four articles: *Foundations of Catholic Secondary Education in Illinois*, by Sister Mary Evangela Henthorne; *Governor Thomas Dongan's Expansion Policy*, by Henry Allain St. Paul; *A Note on the Catholic Church Organization in Central Illinois*, by Thomas Cleary; and *Pierre De Smet: Frontiér Missionary*, by Thomas F. O'Connor.

The *Filson Club History Quarterly* for July contains the following articles: *Pioneer Kentucky Preachers and Pulpits*, by Charles

R. Staples; *Battle of Perryville, 1862*, by Hambleton Tapp; *Tombstone Records of an Abandoned Graveyard*, by Joseph E. Johnson; and *Browsing in Our Archives — Letter by William J. Davis of Morgan's Cavalry, 1863*, contributed by Otto A. Rothert.

The July issue of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is the fiftieth anniversary number. In addition to the report of the forty-ninth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the issue contains two articles — *Shall the Constitution Be Preserved*, by Robert D. W. Connor; and *A Half Century of the Writing of History in Ohio*, by Francis P. Weisenburger.

Indian Mounds in Wisconsin State Parks, by C. E. Brown and Karyl Chipman; *Orrin Thompson*, by Lorraine C. Alfred; *Isle Royal National Park*, by W. J. Duchaine, H. W. Kuhm, and C. E. Brown; *Eulrich Garden Beds County Park Project*, by Doris Newman; *Agriculture, Hunting, Fishing*, by Jasper Hill (Big White Owl); and *Archeological Notes on the Brush Creek Regions in Northeastern Utah*, by Albert B. Reagan, are the articles published in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for July.

The Lac Qui Parle Indian Mission, by Charles M. Gates; *Carver's Old Fortifications*, by G. Hubert Smith; *Volunteer Guards in Minnesota*, by Gertrude W. Ackermann; and *Early College Silhouettes*, by William E. Leonard, are the articles in *Minnesota History* for June, 1935. Under the title *Some Sources for Northwest History*, Selma P. Larsen contributes a short article on *Sporting Magazines*. Willoughby M. Babcock tells of *Hunting History by Automobile*.

Settlement of Southern Michigan, 1805-1837, by George N. Fuller; *Michigan Indian Trails: Legends of Nena-Boo-Shoo, The Trickster*, by Stella M. Champney; *The First Frenchmen in Michigan*, by Antoine J. Jobin; *A Quarter of a Century of Michigan Journalism, 1858-1884*, by James Schermerhorn; *History of the Newspaper Business in Clinton County*, by Coleman C. Vaughan; and *Economic History of Alma Since 1900*, by Arthur Weimer, are the articles and papers in the Spring and Summer number of the *Michigan History Magazine*.

The Beginnings of a Great Industry at La Crosse, by Albert H.

Sanford; *Hop Culture in Early Sauk County*, by Mrs. Belle Cushman Bohn; *Some Pioneer Settlers of Kenosha County*, by Mrs. Helen McVicar; and a continuation of *Reminiscences of My Sailor Days*, by, L. W. Burch, are the four articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June. The number also includes *Excerpts from a Whaler's Diary* (kept by George Burchard in 1836-1839) and *Sectional and Personal Politics in Early Wisconsin*, an editorial comment by Joseph Schafer.

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A History of Medicine in Jefferson County, Iowa, by James Frederic Clarke, appears in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for May, June, and July.

A History of Holy Rosary Parish, La Motte, Iowa, by the Reverend H. J. Loosbrock, has recently been published by the parish. The pamphlet contains also a short sketch of the history of the town of La Motte.

The Hope Lutheran Church at Westgate, Iowa, has recently issued a pamphlet history entitled *Hope Lutheran Church Westgate, Iowa A Token in Remembrance of the Sixtieth Anniversary of its Founding 1875-1935*.

The Nashua High School Alumni Association published in June, 1935, a booklet entitled *The Golden Anniversary of the Nashua High School*. The publication is dedicated to the class of 1885. Seven of the eleven members of the first class to be graduated were present at the reunion.

A Century of Iowa Baptist History 1834-1934, compiled and edited under authority of the Iowa Baptist Convention, has been published by the church. The volume is edited by G. P. Mitchell and tells the story of the Baptist Church in the State of Iowa since the Long Creek Baptist Church was organized at Burlington on October 18, 1834. The book includes histories of the various Iowa Baptist churches.

The July number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains the following articles and papers: *The Kentucky Settlement in Madison County*,

Iowa, by C. C. Stiles; *Directories of Iowa Newspapers, 1850-1869*, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; William Salter's "*My Ministry in Iowa, 1843-1846*", edited by Philip D. Jordan; and *The County, District, and State Agricultural Societies of Iowa*, by Myrtle Beinhauer. There is also a letter written by John M. Cresswell to his brother while in Fremont County on his way to California in April, 1850.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aldrich, Bess Streeter,

Spring Came on Forever. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1935.

Beinhauer, Myrtle,

The County, District, and State Agricultural Societies of Iowa (Annals of Iowa, July, 1935).

Blackmar, Beatrice, (Mrs. Bruce Gould) (Joint author)

Prima Ballerina (The Saturday Evening Post, July 27, 1935).

Bowen, Howard,

Iowa Income: 1909-1934 (Iowa Studies in Business, No. XIV).
Iowa City: College of Commerce, State University of Iowa.
1935.

Brueckner, Leo John,

The New Triangle Arithmetics. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co. 1935.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

Our First Burglar (Golden Book Magazine, July, 1935).

Clark, Hubert Lyman,

Paradise of the Tasman (The National Geographic, July, 1935).

Cook, Elizabeth, (Mrs. Louis H. Cook)

Old Grudges; Red Dress (The Delineator, June, 1935).

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Gay Print Frock (poem) (Pictorial Review, July, 1935).

This, Too, Will Pass (poem) (Good Housekeeping, July, 1935).

Who Looks for Long (poem) (Ladies Home Journal, July, 1935).

Darling, Jay Norwood, ("J. N. Ding")

Our Migratory Waterfowl, an Inventory (Bird Lore, May, 1935).

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

In Memory of Matthew Arnold (poem) (The Saturday Review of Literature, July 6, 1935).

Foster, Harold,

Men of Comics (New Outlook, May, 1935).

Gallaher, Ruth A.,

Albert Miller Lea (THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1935).

Gard, Wayne,

America's Desolate Acres (Current History, June, 1935).

Gould, Bruce, (Joint author)

Prima Ballerina (The Saturday Evening Post, July 27, 1935).

Hall, James Norman,

In Memoriam; the Old Brown Hen (poem) (The Atlantic Monthly, June, 1935).

Hawley, Charles A.,

Excelsior (The Palimpsest, June, 1935).

Himmel, John P., (Joint author)

Economic Phases of Erosion Control In Southern Iowa and Northern Missouri (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 333). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1935.

Hopkins, John A., (Joint author)

Cost of Production in Agriculture (Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin, No. 184). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1935.

Hunt, C. C.,

The Due Guard (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M., June, 1935).

Hurd, Russell M., (Joint author)

Economic Phases of Erosion Control In Southern Iowa and Northern Missouri (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 333). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1935.

Huttenlocher, Fae,

In August We — (Better Homes and Gardens, July, 1935).
Water, Mulch, and Stake (Better Homes and Gardens, July, 1935).

Jennings, Edward G., (Joint author)

The Parol Evidence Rule in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, May, 1935).

Kantor, MacKinlay,

The Voice of Bugle Ann (The Atlantic, August, 1935).

Keyes, Charles Rollin,

Quest of the Gran Quivira (Arizona Historical Review, July, 1935).

Kirkpatrick, Edwin Asbury,

Mental Hygiene for Effective Living. New York: Appleton-Century Company. 1935.

Kresensky, Raymond,

Spring Comes Slowly (poem) (Christian Century, July 3, 1935).

Loth, Alan, (Joint author)

The Parol Evidence Rule in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, May, 1935).

Mangold, George Benjamin,

Organization for Social Welfare, With Special Reference to Social Work. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1935.

Mitchell, H. A.,

The Making for Citizenship (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, October, 1934).

Mott, Frank Luther,

One Hundred and Twenty Years (North American Review, June, 1935).

Nauman, E. D.,

Vanished Hosts (The Palimpsest, June, 1935).

Neidig, William Jonathan,

Sun Racket (The Saturday Evening Post, June 15, 1935).

Noyes, William Albert,

Electronic Theories of Lewis and Kossel (Science, June 28, 1935).

Petersen, William J.,

Troops and Military Supplies on Upper Mississippi River Steamboats (THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1935).

Prentice, Ezra P.,

Breeding Profitable Dairy Cattle; A New Source of National Wealth. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1935.

Read, Allen Walker,

Attitudes Toward Missouri Speech (The Missouri Historical Review, July, 1935).

Redman, H. Stewart,

The State's Weaving and Knitting Industry (Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions, October, 1934).

Russell, Charles Edward,

America's Balance Sheet With the Philippines (Asia, July, 1935).

Samuelson, Agnes,

Radio As an Agency in Interpreting Education (School and Society, June 15, 1935).

Schickele, Rainer, (Joint author)

Economic Phases of Erosion Control in Southern Iowa and Northern Missouri (Agricultural Experiment Station Bul-

letin, No. 333). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1935.

Schultz, Theodore W.,

Vanishing Farm Markets and Our World Trade. New York: World Peace Foundation. 1935.

Shaw, Albert,

Who Shall Control Our Children? (Review of Reviews, August, 1935).

Shultz, Gladys Denny,

When Children Are Naughty (Better Homes and Gardens, July, 1935).

Sigmund, J. G.,

Burroak and Sumac. Mount Vernon, Iowa: English Club of Cornell College. 1935.

Smith, Maude Sumner,

God Give Us Women (poem) (Independent Woman, June, 1935).

Reflections on Rejections (The Prairie Schooner, Spring, 1935).

Stanton, Hazel Martha.

Measurement of Musical Talent: The Eastman Experiment (University of Iowa Studies in the Psychology of Music, Vol. II). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1935.

Stiles, C. C.,

The Kentucky Settlement in Madison County (Annals of Iowa, July, 1935).

Swisher, Jacob A.,

The Rise of Education (The Palimpsest, May, 1935).

Taylor, Alonzo Englebert,

The New Deal and Foreign Trade. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1935.

Taylor, Paul A., (Joint author)

Cost of Production in Agriculture (Agricultural Experiment

Station Research Bulletin, No. 184). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1935.

Wilson, Ben Hur,

Pre-Dana and Contemporary Mineralogical Literature (The Mineralogist, June, 1935).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Early mail delivery in Hardin County, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, February 4, 1935.

Early history of Des Moines County, by L. O. Leonard, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, February 5, 1935.

Sabula's first schools, in the *Sabula Gazette*, February 7, 1935.

Mrs. Elizabeth Denning, ninety years of age, recalls her trip to Pleasant Ridge eighty-one years ago, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, February 10, 1935.

Sketch of the life of R. M. Finlayson, in the *Grundy Register*, February 14, 1935.

Autographs of McClellan, Fremont, Meade, Pope, and other military leaders found at Cedar Falls, in the *Waterloo Courier*, February 17, 1935.

Sketch of the life of J. K. Montgomery, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, February 19, 1935.

Kendallville was first named Enterprise, in the *Decorah Journal*, February 20, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Edward H. Cunningham, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, February 21, 1935.

Sketch of the life of C. C. Gregory, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, February 21, 1935.

Pioneer homes in Iowa, in the *Nora Springs Advertiser*, February 21, 1935.

The flood of 1851, in the *Knoxville Express*, February 21, 1935.

The name of Black Hawk is suggested by Cyrenus Cole and H. S. Merrick for forest reserve area on lower Des Moines, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, February 22, 1935.

Education on Flower's Island, by Willard Robbins, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, February 24, 1935.

Davenport had first chapter of the King's Daughters in Iowa, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 24, 1935.

Daniel Coe, the founder of Coe College, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, February 24, and the *Davenport Times*, February 25, 1935.

Charles A. Gray painted portrait of Black Hawk, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, February 25, 1935.

Richard Campbell of Dickinson County invented rotary snow plow, in the *Sheldon Sun*, February 27, 1935.

A prairie wolf, by Ellis E. Wilson, in the *Waterloo Courier*, February 28, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Mary Fisher, in the *Northwood Anchor*, February 28, 1935.

Railroad building in Madison County, by Arthur Goshorn, in the *Winterset News*, February 28, 1935.

History of Jasper County, in the *Newton News*, March 1, 1935.

Reminiscences of Iowa told by Mrs. Mary K. Honn to Paul May, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 3, 1935.

The Iowa-Nebraska boundary, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* and the Centerville *Iowegian*, March 4, 1935.

The race riot on the Mississippi, by Frank R. Miller, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, March 7, 1935.

Story of a pioneer editor, by C. N. Marvin, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, March 8, and the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, March 13, 1935.

Pioneer mail service at Sabula, in the *Sabula Gazette*, March 14, 1935.

Early history of Marquette, in the *McGregor Times*, March 14, 1935.

Genealogical notes of Washington County, by Mrs. C. A. Speer, in the *Washington Democrat-Independent*, March 14, 1935.

Did Wall Lake have a wall, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal*, March 15, 1935.

Diary of George A. Madden in 1858, in the *Villisca Review*, March 15, April 19, 1935.

Torrence Post, No. 2, G. A. R. now disbanded, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, March 16, 1935.

Historic building at Lewis is destroyed, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, March 18, 1935.

Pioneer cabin at Oskaloosa, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, March 18, and the *Ames Tribune-Times* and *Boone Republican*, March 19, 1935.

Galeh Tilden recalls early history of Ames, in the *Ames Tribune-Times*, March 19, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Jesse B. Meyers, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, March 20, 1935.

Story of the State Capitols of Iowa, in the *Fayette County (West Union) Union*, March 21, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Leslie M. Shaw, in the *Denison Review*, March 21, 1935.

Fourth of July celebration at Villisca in 1886, in the *Villisca Review*, March 22, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Dr. Herman Knapp, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 23, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. John Mahin, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, March 26, 1935.

Iowa's Capitols, by Harvey Ingham, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 27, 28, 29, 30, 1935.

Sketch of the life of M. N. Baker, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, March 28, 1935.

Pioneer stories of Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register*, March 28, 1935.

Early history of Sabula, in the *Sabula Gazette*, March 28, April 11, May 2, 16, 1935.

Early schools in Mount Ayr, in the *Mount Ayr Record-News*, March 28, 1935.

One hundred years of the Farmington schools, by A. T. S. Owen, in the *Farmington News-Republican*, March 28, 1935.

Biographical sketch of "Tama Jim" Wilson, by Helen Wilson, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, March 29, 1935.

Memoirs of Civil War veterans — James Sutton, Mortimer Rice, and John Huff, told to Harriet Blake, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel*, March 29, April 2, 5, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Wesley Greene, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 31, 1935.

First burying ground at Riverside, by Helen Payne, in the *Charles City Press*, April 3, 1935.

J. H. Williams was a famous engineer, in the *Davenport Democrat*, April 3, 1935.

Sketch of the life of L. H. Mayne, in the *Emmetsburg Democrat*, April 4, 1935.

Story of a pioneer ferry, by W. L. Rantz, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel*, April 5, 1935.

Linn County court records, by Fred Henson, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, April 7, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Sarah Ann Bickford Warner, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, April 8, 1935.

The Bonaparte Dam, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, April 8, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Laurie Tatum, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, April 9, 1935.

Nineteenth anniversary of Cedar Lodge No. 11, A. F. & A. M., at Tipton, in the *Tipton Advertiser*, April 11, 1935.

The old White Mill at Cherokee, by Chalm Houghton, in the *Cherokee Times*, April 12, 1935.

Musk ox skull found in Iowa by Russell Voelpel, in the *Clinton Herald*, April 12, and the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* and the *Centerville Iowegian*, April 15, 1935.

Sketch of the life of David Spencer Smith, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, April 14, 16, 1935.

An early school in Davis County, by Dorothy Clark, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, April 16, 1935.

Flower's Island, by Reis Tuttle, in the *Onawa Democrat*, April 18, 1935, from the *Des Moines Register*.

Reformers in the seventies and eighties, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, April 28, 1935.

Invention of link belt for farm machinery, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, April 28, 1935.

Experiences of Fred C. Tilden at Ames, by Annabel Pepper, in the *Ames Tribune-Times*, May 1, 1935.

The liquor issue in Iowa politics, by William G. Kerr, in the *Grundy Register* (Grundy Center), May 2, 1935.

Steamboats on the Des Moines River, in the *Knoxville Express*, May 2, 1935.

Fairfax was once called Vanderbilt, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, May 5, 1935.

Sketch of the life of W. T. Gilmore, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, May 6, the *Tipton Advertiser*, May 9, and the *Tipton Constitution*, May 9, 1935.

High school days in early Burlington, told by Mrs. W. L. Cooper, in the *Burlington Hawkeye-Gazette*, May 6, 1935.

Sketch of the life of George W. Clarke, by Helen Thompson, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, May 14, 1935.

Recollections of Tipton and Cedar County, by F. B. Cobb, in the *Tipton Advertiser*, May 16, 1935.

History of Albia schools, in the *Albia Republican*, May 16, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Buren R. Sherman, in the *Waterloo Courier*, May 17, and the *Des Moines Register*, May 20, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Judge K. E. Willcockson, in the *Grinnell Register*, May 20, and the *Sigourney News*, May 23, 1935.

Sketch of the life of John W. Foster, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 21, and the *Guthrie Center Guthrian*, May 30, 1935.

County warrants of Buena Vista County, in the *Storm Lake Register*, May 21, 1935.

Early days on Soap Creek, in the *Bloomfield Democrat*, May 23, 1935.

History of Wadena, compiled by John Hinkel, in the *Arlington News*, May 23, 1935.

Sketch of the life of Jas. H. Van Wagenen, in the *Corning Free Press*, May 23, 1935.

Hoag Duster Company of Monticello was first manufacturer of feather dusters, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, May 26, 1935.

Cemetery near Milo, Delaware County, had early memorial service for soldier dead, in the *Manchester Democrat-Radio*, May 28, 1935.

Stories of Delaware County history, in the *Manchester Democrat-Radio*, May 28, 1935.

The Le Claire House, in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 29, 1935.

Old stagehouse still stands near Quick in Pottawattamie County, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 30, 1935.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Minnesota Historical Society conducted its thirteenth historic tour on June 13-15, 1935. The trip included sessions at Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter, Granite Falls, Lac qui Parle, Montevideo, Willmar, and Glencoe.

The Oklahoma Historical Society held its annual meeting at Okmulgee on May 10, 11, 1935, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, the president, presiding. The program included historical addresses by Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. E. E. Dale, and Judge Baxter Taylor. It was voted to hold the 1936 meeting at Enid.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the Summer Session of the University of Pittsburgh sponsored the fourth annual historical tour on July 12 and 13, 1935. The program included a dinner at Johnstown, a luncheon at Altoona, and a dinner at Indiana, Pennsylvania. Franklin F. Holbrook was in charge of the tour. The program included a paper on "The Construction of the Allegheny Portage Railroad", by Anna Catherine Saylor, an address by Charles M. Schwab, and "The Underground Railroad and Fugitive Slave History", a paper by Cortlandt W. W. Elkin.

The Transylvanians, a patriotic society organized in 1929, are arranging a celebration at Boonesborough, Kentucky, on October 12, 1935. The event will commemorate: the founding of the Transylvania Company in North Carolina, January 6, 1775; the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, March 14-17, 1775; the cutting of the Transylvania Trail; the convening of the legislature of Transylvania at Boonesborough on May 23, 1775; and the founding of the State of Transylvania and its capital, Boonesborough, April-May, 1775. Four tablets will be unveiled, set in a granite boulder on the site of the meeting of the Transylvania legislature. Dr. Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill, N. C., is president of The Transylvanians and Mr. Tom Wallace, Louisville, Kentucky, is chairman of the Committee on Celebration.

IOWA

The town of State Center is making a collection of historical objects, which will be displayed during the fall festival on August 19, 20, and 21, 1935.

The temporary officers of the Jasper County Historical Society have decided to take up formal organization this fall. Work on the collection of materials is progressing. Among the records filed are the complete original minutes of the Wittemberg Manual Labor College, beginning in 1855.

The Webster County Historical Society held a meeting at Fort Dodge on August 7, 1935, at which the following officers were elected: president, James L. Hanrahan, vice president, Arthur M. White; secretary, Jennie Pollock; treasurer, Alla Hardin; and curator, Maude Lauderdale. The Society also made plans for the Webster County Centennial Day celebrated at Fort Dodge on August 21, 1935.

The Smithland Parent-Teachers Association has recently published in pamphlet form the program of dedication of the marker provided by the D. A. R. for the site of the first schoolhouse in Woodbury County. The booklet contains a history of the first school, written by Gertrude Henderson.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes of Mt. Vernon and Mr. Ellison Orr of Waukon are continuing work on the tailed-effigy Indian mounds along Turkey River near Guttenberg with the assistance of a party of men furnished by the State Planning Board. So far no skeletons or relics have been found, leading the excavators to believe that these mounds were not made for burial purposes, but for some other ceremonial reason.

The Martha Washington Chapter of the D. A. R. has marked the site of the first schoolhouse in Woodbury County with a large boulder bearing a bronze tablet. The schoolhouse was located at Smithland. The marker was dedicated on June 14, 1935. The presentation was made by Mrs. Ralph A. Henderson regent of the Martha Washington Chapter, and the tablet was accepted by Mayor

R. R. Hall of Smithland. J. A. Pritchard gave the principal address.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

A collection of the papers of Colonel Aaron Brown of the Third Iowa Infantry have been deposited in the Library of the State Historical Society by the courtesy of Mr. J. L. Walter of Maynard, Iowa, with whom they were left, and Mr. Lloyd H. Spencer of Aberdeen, S. D., who brought them to the Library. The papers contain much of interest concerning the Civil War.

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave two addresses at the Conference on Nationalism and Education, recently held at Boulder, Colorado, under the auspices of the University of Colorado. On July 15th, Dr. Shambaugh spoke on "Liberal and Cultural Education" and on the following day gave an address on "Dictatorship".

The regular biennial meeting of the members of the State Historical Society of Iowa was held at the offices of the Society in Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa, on June 24, 1935. The following nine persons were elected members of the Board of Curators to serve from July 1, 1935, to June 30, 1937: Mr. Marvin H. Dey, Mr. Henry G. Walker, Mr. Charles M. Dutcher, Mr. W. O. Coast, Dr. W. L. Bywater, Mr. Thomas Farrell, Dr. R. H. Volland, Mr. Merritt C. Speidel, and Mr. R. G. Popham. The other nine members of the Board of Curators, appointed by Governor Clyde L. Herring, are: H. O. Bernbrock, Waterloo; E. P. Chase, Atlantic; T. Henry Foster, Ottumwa; Gertrude (Mrs. Ralph A.) Henderson, Sioux City; Dorothy D. (Mrs. H. C.) Houghton, Red Oak; Granger P. Mitchell, Fort Dodge; Esther Bergman (Mrs. H. E.) Narey, Spirit Lake; Marie B. Voit, Goldfield; and W. W. Waymack, Des Moines. Mr. Marvin H. Dey was reelected President of the Board of Curators at the meeting of the Board on July 30th and Mr. Lee Nagle was again made Treasurer.

The following persons have recently been enrolled as Life Members of the Society: Mr. E. P. Adler, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. W.

H. Antes, West Union, Iowa; Mr. W. G. C. Bagley, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. Howard J. Clark, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. L. C. W. Clearman, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Gardner Cowles, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Addie M. Dalton, Jesup, Iowa; Mrs. Geo. A. Elder, De Witt, Iowa; Mr. E. H. Estey, West Union, Iowa; Mr. F. F. Everest, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. J. G. Gamble, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Wm. C. Harbach, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Otto C. Herman, Boone, Iowa; Mrs. Robt. J. Johnson, Humboldt, Iowa; Mr. J. Lyle Kinmonth, Asbury Park, N. J.; Mr. A. J. Kolyn, Orange City, Iowa; Miss Lillian Leffert, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Frank W. Loring, Sac City, Iowa; Mr. Bruce E. Mahan, Iowa City, Iowa; Judge Earl Peters, Clarinda, Iowa; Mr. Chester B. Schouten, Keokuk, Iowa; Dr. Frank S. Smith, Nevada, Iowa; Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, Evanston, Illinois; and Mrs. T. W. Watkins, Montgomery, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Iowa Library Association will hold its annual meeting at Sioux City on October 10-12, 1935. Two outside speakers announced are Dudley Crafts Watson and Edward J. O'Brien.

The mural painting entitled "Symphony of Iowa", by Mrs. Mildred W. Pelzer, was the Iowa representation in the exhibit of paintings sponsored by the National Federation of Women's Clubs at Detroit. The theme is the coming of the pioneer and the development of civilization in Iowa.

The Three Quarter Century Club held its ninth annual meeting at Newton on July 11, 1935. H. C. Korf gave the principal address. Talks were also given by Representative J. E. Craven, W. S. Johnson, W. S. Sutton, and Dr. W. H. Blancke. The picnic for Jasper County residents over seventy-five years of age is sponsored by James R. Rhodes, publisher of the *Newton Daily News* and the *Jasper County Record*.

The Iowa State Planning Board has recently issued two reports in pamphlet form, both prepared by the Committee on Population and Social Trends, under the direction of Howard Bowen. One of these is *The Income of the Counties of Iowa*, which gives statistics of income by groups and on a per capita basis. The second is *The Iowa Community: Its Program With Special Reference to Recreation and Leisure-Time Activities*.

Admiral Richard E. Byrd and Dr. Thomas C. Poulter, second in command in the second Byrd expedition to the Antarctic, were guest speakers at the Commencement services of Iowa Wesleyan College at Mt. Pleasant on June 3, 1935. Dr. Poulter is a member of the Iowa Wesleyan faculty. Iowa Wesleyan, founded in 1842, is said to be the oldest college in Iowa. Senator James Harlan was one of its presidents. It is also known as the birthplace of the P. E. O.

The annual reunion of the Mahaska County Old Settlers' Association was held at Oskaloosa on June 23, 1935. J. W. Johnson gave personal reminiscences and Mrs. C. C. Sheppard told of the difficulties met in the attempt to trace events and locate historic places. W. L. Campbell was elected president for the ensuing year, succeeding Phil Hoffmann; S. A. Randall was made vice president; Mrs. Bert Vanderwelt of Cedar was reëlected secretary; and Mrs. Robert Holt of Beacon was reëlected treasurer. The oldest person present was Mrs. Margaret White of Oskaloosa, who is ninety-five.

Elias R. Zeller, a pioneer educator, editor, and local historian, died at his home in Winterset on July 22, 1935. He was born near Millville, Ohio, on September 13, 1844. After serving in the 167th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, he attended Miami University and for a time published a newspaper in Ohio. In 1871 Mr. Zeller moved to Burlington and came to Winterset in 1873 as principal of the public schools. Later he served as county superintendent, was one of the partnership publishing the *Winterset Madisonian*, and served as Representative in the State legislature from 1908-1912. One of Mr. Zeller's most cherished interests was the Madison County Historical Society of which he was a charter member when it was organized in 1904. He served as the first treasurer and for many years was the secretary. He gave much of his time to the collection of local historical materials and was curator of the rooms in which the collection was preserved. It was largely due to his efforts that the local historical museum at Winterset ranks as one of the best in Iowa.

CONTRIBUTORS

RICHARD H. ROBERTS. Born November 4, 1913, at Iowa Falls, Iowa. Attended the public schools and Ellsworth Junior College. Received the B. A. degree from the University of Iowa in 1932, the M. A. degree in 1933, and the Ph. D. degree in 1935. Member of Pi Gamma Mu, a social science honor society, the American Political Science Association, the Iowa Political Science Association, and the State Historical Society of Iowa.

FLOY LAWRENCE EMMHOFF. Born in Marshall County, Iowa, on January 8, 1872. Educated in the rural schools and at Gladbrook High School. Graduate of Music Department of Western College at Toledo, Iowa, and studied music in Chicago and at the University of Nebraska. Taught music at Western College and at York College, York, Nebraska. Wife of Rev. Elmer Ellsworth Emmhoff, minister of Central Presbyterian Church, Longmont, Colorado.

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